

Rupees Three & Annas Eight.

TO
THE ELECTORS
AND
THE ELECTED

BY
SHREE NARAYAN SINGH,
RAO OF MASUDA

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I MOST REVERENTIALLY DEDICATE THIS BOOK TO MY GURU

AND

In Dedicateing it to Him I repeat the words of the "Shrutis"—"*Pragnyanam Brahmma*"—Conseiousness is indeed Brahmma. That Basic conseiousness which brings us home the three eternal values of, Truth, Beauty and Happiness. And that Truth is in the universal truth of the presenece of Unity in Diversity. It is in other words, in the presenece of a supreme Purpose and Organisation behind the gigantic Heterogeniety of the Nature—within us as much as outside. That Beauty again, is in the beauty of realising the Harmonic underneath that Heterogeniety. And lastly, that Happiness is in the degree of harmony we may strike at with that heterogeniety.

That is the very truth of existenece. And the good sense within us all—the "still smaller voice"—whose motherly presenece can take us (by the hand) to the very ultimate realisation of that fact is indeed the Omnipresent Guru, residing in the deep cravices of our very Hearts. Hence the Shastrie utteranee :

"*Gurur Brahmma, Gurur Vishnu, Gurur Devo Maheshwarah.*" Guru is indeed the very God head. Hence my salutation unto Him.

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P R E F A C E

My dear Electors and the Elected—and the writer included amongst them (for all that consists of the modern civilised world is but the electors or the elected)—It must have come to us like a rude shock when that unscrupulous cynic of our age, George Bernard Shaw, bluntly declared, “If electors are fools those elected are rascals.” Whether we take it as an insult or a timely reproach depends upon the attitude of our mind. A child may take his parents’ spanking as a rude insult much against a wise reproach. But if we profess to be wise children, pretty grown up too, we have to consider it thoughtfully.

It is an old habit but more pronounced of lately that people generally condemn those who are in power. But they do not for a moment stop and ask themselves at the heart of hearts, whether they could manage the same affairs better in a given set of odd circumstances. It was still excusable when autocrats with “divine rights” ruled supreme. But how far is it justifiable when those in power owe their very position to their very critics, the electors, who have sent them there. The latter seem to lack the patience to think that whether it is ultimately their fault or the fault of the elected, if things are going in the wrong direction. However, this problem of fault finding ultimately presents us the riddle, whether

the hen laid the egg first or the egg laid the hen first. Thus the fault apparently seems to be mutual, as Shaw has pointed it out. If it is so, the natural conclusion should be that the fault is with the circumstance. But here again who created this circumstance? Apparently man. So ultimately it does boil down to the responsibility of man.

Man was the creature, who for the first time realised "unity in diversity"—who realised that there was a concealed organisation under the heterogeneous play of the Nature. That realisation was really the heralding of a real human age on earth. And with that realisation man set to organise himself with the Supreme Organisation itself, within which he was "born, bred and made aware." Organisation thus, was the key-note of man's success through the æons that have passed to see him supreme on earth today. In the history of his evolution, as time passed on he grew wiser and wiser until at last he seems to have over-lapped the very limits of wisdom in our day. In short he is overwise. This over-wisdom has made everything out of focus for him. Obsessed under the very complexity of his own wisdom, man finds himself today at bay with the very Nature, in and around him. His simple ways of life and his simple enough problems—all that but required just a little bit of human consideration only—have been made unduely complex by virtue of his own complexity of mind. Result is, he himself suffers from a big complex. He thinks he has sailed clear off the shores of age-old superstition and the

narrow barriers of sectarianism. Unfortunately in fact, he has only steered his ship into the deeper marsh of scientific superstition and is baffled ever more under the confounding jargon of a multi-ism-politics. He has dethroned God no doubt and declared republic in Heavens even. But now he is hard set at finding a "guide" who could suitably replace that God. Otherwise he fears, Greed has usurped the power already and might make of him one of the extinct species soon enough, under the garb of fleecy isms.

Thus our malady is a world-wide one and can hardly be localised. But with a newly acquired freedom India needs to be more cautious. She is already like the worn out prisoner released after a long term of imprisonment, not knowing what to do, and then start doing what he should not under the confusion or pleasure of a sudden release. A wrong action can lead him back to the prison. Gandhiji had himself warned us one day of the fact—much depressed when he saw his country falling under a passion for power-politics and communal hatred. Added to it is our craze after ideological governance, much divorced from all canons of commonsense and practicalism. Under the stress of it we are only confounding our issues further. We are promising the poor a palace and under the zeal of it are clearing off his hut without providing him the palace first.

Similarly in the field of economics, at one moment we begin to think of creating a haven of self-sufficient

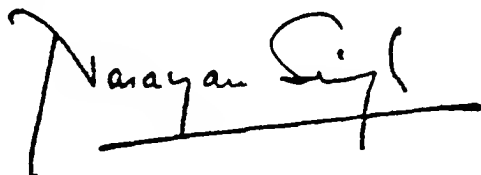
villagism for our country and at another moment we talk of industrialisation on western lines. Thus we only find in this field the ideal of "Ram Raj" and "Rome Raj"—or the economic-concepts of the east and the west—still at conflict with each other in our minds.

Coming to the field of social-ethics lastly, never before were we in a greater confusion about this than today. Centuries of foreign rule has already demoralised us to the utmost, taking away all sense of self-respect and national honour from us, and only leaving within us a deep imprint of false pride and narrow selfishness. Morals we abhor, lest we may be called all fashioned and superstitious. And we have only learnt to mimic the west in its defects. Thus the problem before our country particularly, is very grave, with jealous international onlookers all around.

This book has discussed these very factors at length and tried to find a solution. The first chapter is just an X-ray report of the malady. The second goes on to show where from the infection and how deep it goes. The third discusses the very basic issue as against the infection. The fourth draws out a long remedy and the fifth prescribes an immediate treatment.

It is of course a tentative plan, and the writer invites his kind readers to come out with any fresh suggestions they may have. Appendix I, added in this booklet, is for further elucidating certain of the basic concepts of our day to day life, which go to

make it fuller. It has been added specially to invite a constructive reaction from the readers. Appendixes II and III are only for ready references to readers with respect to certain constitutional issues raised in the last chapter.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Narayan Singh". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial 'N' and a long horizontal stroke at the end.

SHREE GURUNIWAS,
MASUDA.
(STATE OF AJMER).

I

INTRODUCTION

THE PRELIMINARY PICTURE

Soon enough we, as much as the country around us, will be flung into a hysterical fever for electioneering. The whole atmosphere will be surcharged with high tension. Political parties will be running amuck vying one with the other in a mad race after power. Party organs will be clamouring and wasting much space in printing in block-letters and big head-lines their party slogans thus wasting still further much of pulp-paper ordure. Similarly many more such propaganda vehicals, like the broadcasting stations, movie-films, loud-speakers, busses and their petrol, and all that hiearchy of the evolutes of modern science, will be let loose in full forec for the same purpose, without the least thought towards the fact as to how much of our essential capital, national wealth, energy, and basic resources are thus wasted, really for a trivial purpose. Erstwhile the individual party candidates will be straining their last nerve to obtain the largest number of votes from their respective constituancies. Because if they succeed it not only means the success of their party but the opening of a wide vista of political career for themselves with brilliant hopes for name, fame and power in the near future.

All this on the one side. On the other side would be the voter—urban or rural, newly enfranchised or enfranchised already. The voter in the cities with better social standing and probably better brains will cast his vote more on dictates of a personal prejudice or narrowly selfish interest than on the dictates of a conscientious belief. Urbanity of the lower cadre, on the other hand, with a new right to vote under the adult franchise system—though much more familiar with the urban ways of life than their rural brethren—will necessarily be led away by any demagogue who can best manipulate the mob-psychology. But the plight of that newly enfranchised illiterate, ill-fed, ill-clad rural voter, too simple and rural to understand the intricacies of election systems of essentially an urban brand, will be just like the man left with a clod of gold in a wilderness of free-booters. Hardly would he know whither to use his newly acquired privilege before he would be encircled in the party manoeuvrings and propaganda campaigns of our power-politicians. A speech here and a speech there would be heard in one of the village congregations arranged by such demagogues and the name of Gandhiji and a plausible promise uttered at random as an election stunt ; a bus would be provided to drive him to the polling-booth and a glass of cool *Sherbat* to cool his nerves there and in a flash his voting privilege would be lost to him for another four or five years to come in favour of a person or party he has only but hazily come to know of recently. He would thus be voting for a

political ideology which heaven alone would know for him. After that he would only know his day to day hearth and home, the village *Patel* or *Patwari*, or at most the mighty *Tehsildar*, sometimes on an official round of his area. About the demagogue, for whom he had voted sometimes back, he would only hear very casually from his village school master and will have to rest content for the rest with a rustic conception that his so called representative, controls Delhi somehow. Such will be a much vaster majority of voters from our rural India.

The demagogues, most constitutionally coming into power thus, will then step and strut with pride into the majestic portals of the circular Parliament of India at Delhi, claiming themselves to be the leaders of "Public Opinion" acclaimed by "Popular Vote." And they will themselves then be forming into auroras of grandeur around greater and yet greater leaders amongst themselves, the "Sir Oracles" or as we may call them the very "demi-gods" of the proud party in power, to whose tunes all others would dance. And these "Sir Oracles" or "demi-gods" would then form that great hierarchy of august personalities ranging right from the *Rashtrapati* to the Ministers, the Deputy Ministers, the Speaker, the Chief Whip of the party and so on, into whose mighty hands will rest entrusted until next elections the fate of well over thirty million "kings" (to use one of our most eminent politician's phrase). "Kings" the politician has chosen to call them as the Sovereignty vested so far into a singular British

Crown has after the achievement of independence in our country devolved into over thirty million peoples populating its vast lengths and breadths. It remains still a question however, how far these dumb-founded millions, especially of the rural areas, are virtually "kings" while exercising their part of the newly acquired sovereignty when they cast their votes not so consciously as dazzled and hypnotised, as it were, under the stupendous machinery of an urbanised propaganda. In more than a thousand chances the rustic simplicity of such a voter "king" will be exploited either by a legal-practitioner, politically ambitious—who holds the former's clientele and has kept him regularly under heavy litigation all his life—or by a great political demagogue of the cities entirely alien to the voter's way of life and rustic surroundings. Such will be our popularly elected leaders—more appropriately legal-practitioners and mob-psychology experts—mostly drawn from urban areas, who will combine to make our future Parliament. And such will be the Parliament to which we will look for the evolution of a newer way of life and opening of fresher alleys of progress. One cannot help wondering whether this would not be an eye-wash only for a real step forward.

We could well expect thus that the picture of a newly elected Parliament, constituted fully on the basis of adult franchise according to our Constitution, would not be very much different from the present one, where we see much oratory and less of sane consideration, the sole outcome of which seems to be

laws, hastily passed one over the other with scant regard to practicability or facts. The main motive behind all that seems to be out-manceuvring of the rival political party and winning of the next elections.

Thus a law-ridden society is bequeathed to us by our Parliamentarians, themselves tightly in the grips of power politics. And we get laws, which either, in aiming to please one faction of community or other, only create more mal-adjustments instead of removing the existing ones. Or we get laws, which in the zeal of some high ideology only go to super-impose an utopianic morality over a society, yet more in need of bread and butter than high ideals. The result is, if not achievement of any personal or party objective, at least surely the the cutting asunder of certain of the country's age-old essential sources of income. Thus the very purpose of law-making is defeated. As a matter of fact law is a material frame for the working of a moral or social principle, already well realised by the society. This means that the ground for it must first be prepared in the hearts of the people by a social revolution. Deep breathing cannot become a general habit by enacting a law for it. A basic preparation is necessary first and that is always lost sight of when our laws are made. Hence the poor individual only finds himself today helplessly surrounded by a labyrinth of super-imposed multifarious laws and a "Police Raj" stealthily getting hold of his very fundamental liberty, in spite of all professions to the contrary by his chosen leaders.

Thus we are moving farther and farther away from the great political ideal so cherished by the Father of our Nation, the ideal of "Ram Raj." What is "Ram Raj" shall be clear in the course of our discussions further, but here it is enough to say that it is not surely the type of direct or indirect "Police Raj" as portrayed above. An eminent man of letters has said: "the best governed are those who are the least governed." We have achieved independence and for that a democratic republic but the art of governance is too subtle and most delusive for a politician who is led away by the pride of power or the greed to retain it.

Herbert Spencer says: "The Republican form of Government is the highest form of Government but because of this it requires the highest type of human nature—a type nowhere at present existing." With all my humbleness to the eminent political-thinker, here I may add that it would have been more appreciable in this context if he would have just used the word "democracy" instead of "Republican form of Government" in his aforesaid utterance. Because it is too presumptuous to hold a particular form of government alone to be the best form of government at a stage of human history when we are—as we have been through ages—still on an experimental stage with regard to varied forms of governments according to time and place. Yet however the above quotation bears profound meaning and is a salient warning to the protagonists of all such forms of government, called republican. Particularly the stress on the

last words in the above quotation "a type nowhere existing" is to be marked by those who may be travelling under a make-believe-garden that they have achieved the last limit of democracy by merely declaring their form of government to be republican. To carry out a republic, true to the very name and spirit, one has to cultivate a really republican attitude. It may be hinted here that all our sages and seers of yore, from Buddha and Christ to Gandhiji of our times have been real republicans in practice to the very core. That is why Plato had uttered centuries ago that what he required was "philosopher Kings" for an ideal governance.

Hence not to be very pessimistic, our problem is a common problem today with the mightiest and most established nations of the world—a problem of those who have fallen victims to over-centralisation in all walks of life, political, economical or social. Hence the caution is only against falling into a common pit-fall, even if that be common. Our country has essentially a rural culture and a rural way of life and the centralised systems of western brand little suit our purpose. Gandhiji's ideal of decentralisation, villagism and self-sufficiency, could go a long way in building up an unrivalled social structure for our country.

II

THE PERVERTED ECONOMY

REMARKS of an eminent economist, William Vogt, with regard to the American Congress, in his book *Road To Survival* are worth studying with reference to our own context. He writes : " One of the loftiest hurdles to be cleared is the Congress. Its shortcomings merely mirror some of the shortcomings of our way of life. . . . With rare exceptions it is composed of sincere, honest men. . . . But this, unfortunately is not enough. . . . Most members of Congress are unaware of man's impact on his environment and its impact on him. . . . Our law-makers are trained for the most part as lawyers, and know as little of biophysical law as the average biologist does of corporation law. Because of lack of appreciation of the problems of people who work on the land, they are intolerant of these problems ; they have still not learned that we need to know what we are doing. . . . They spend hundreds of millions of dollars and influence millions of lives in fields of which they are profoundly ignorant. . . . Many of them pride themselves on being practical men, ignorant of the definition of a practical man as 'one who follows the theories of forty years ago.' " This is about the American Congress, the epitome, I may add, of an over-centralised polity. It is further worthwhile noting what the same scholar has to

say about the way of life our present civilisation has adopted under flattery of a similar over-centralised economy (in the last chapters of his book)—“It will certainly be more intelligent to pull in our belts and accept a long period of austerity and rebuilding than to wait for a catastrophic crash of our civilisation. . . . I mean every person who reads a newspaper printed on pulp from vanishing forests. I mean every man and woman who eats a meal drawn from steadily shrinking lands. Every one who flushes a toilet and thereby pollutes a river, wastes fertile organic matter and helps to lower a water table. Every one who puts on a wool garment derived from over grazed ranges that have been cut by the little hoofs and gullied by the rains, sending runoff and topsoil into the rivers downstream, flooding cities hundreds of miles away. Especially do I mean men and women in over-populated countries who produce excessive numbers of children who, unhappily cannot escape their fate as hostages to the forces of misery and disaster that lower upon the horizon of our future. . . . Above everything else, we must reorganise our thinking. If we are to escape the crash, we must abandon all thought of living into ourselves. We form an earth-company. . . . We must equally abandon any philosophy of ‘Sufficient unto the day’—We are paying for the foolishness of yesterday while we shape our own tomorrow.”

Nobody, who has the least idea of the happenings in the world he exists, can pass over these remarks

much too lightly. They are as much applicable to any country today as to America. Thus it is, that whereas our over-centralised polity suffers from impractical politicians pushed into our legislatures and executives by sheer dint of their manipulation of circumstances, our, similarly centralised economic systems, have steeped us into a wasteful way of living, which is exhausting fast the very capital assets of our irreplaceable natural wealth, thus striking at the very roots of our civilisation. Our political organisations are too technical and cumbersome, annexing much public-finance to the upkeep of their own complicated bodily structure, leaving but little or negligible for expenses on genuine public-welfare. Our economic order, on the other hand, is much too wasteful and self-centred. The dictum of "ever increasing wants" is the very genesis of our modern culture—whether viewed individually or collectively. Collectively, I say, because totalitarians who would profess, that under their type of social order the individual lust is allowed the least free play, may be pointed out with all apologies, that the same individual lust in their case changes its colour into a collective greed, the poisonous fangs of which have already unbalanced the world harmony much. Here I cannot help alluding to the remarks of a thinker of our age with regard to what he calls as the "mystic in man." This "mystic in man" he finds in an all pervading "supreme desire" and "urge to unity"—to an universal harmony with beings and surroundings culminating into a complete self-surrender unto a

bigger self. If this very mystic urge in man is led into wrong channels it could mean unity in the sense of self-annihilation. In the words of the aforesaid thinker himself again "no martyr at the stake has more wholly dedicated himself to his idea of God than the young Nazi or Fascist, who has dedicated his life at the beginning of the last war to the unworthy God of the State. . . ."

Thus we only stand today with the morality of restraint and humanism lost from amongst us. With a philosophy of "ever increasing wants" and an ever increasing population, how could the ever decreasing sources of our natural capital keep pace? Though W. Vogt (whom we have profusely quoted above) has regretted much these tendencies of our human world with a stern warning, still he does not seem to disbelieve entirely in the efficacy of the modern centralised systems. He only seems to stress upon adjusting scientific technique of land-use and other allied matters of the modern complicated life with practical politics in such a way that it may all be a homogeneous workable whole. He also makes passing references to the exercise of a restrained economy in place of what he terms as "wasteful economy." But he seems to stop short of suggesting a real remedy which would bring about a fundamental change in the whole outlook. Gandhiji, our politician and philosopher of the age, enters deeper into the question and attacks the very fundamental mal-adjustment in our existing social order. He has put before us a novel ideal of a decentralised politico-economic

order, which may in one word be paraphrased as "villagism."

To understand that we must first take a practical view of the mal-adjustments wrought about by our present day centralised systems in our day to day life. And in this respect we may examine an individual's daily budget. The octipcean today stretch well nigh over the whole of the length and breadth of the two

**An
Individual's
Budget.**

hemispheres of our globe, much in contrast to the requirements of that individual who breathed only fifty years before us—particularly in India—and whose most of the requirements were met very much locally. It is most unintentionally, it may be added, that the former's sphere of requirements has automatically widened to such dangerous proportions by sheer dint of modern civilisation. And he will be hard put to curtailing it, if he were asked to, with the existing conceptions of life. A well-to-do gentleman of modern society should be astounded to find his breakfast table served from the farthest corners of the earth—entailing all the requisite man-power and the machine-power employed and the exploitation of the natural resources of the particular places—if he were to scrutinisingly examine the facts. He would find his packet of Planter's Nilgiri tea coming from the far off "Springdale gardens" somewhere in the Nilgiri Hills; his Polson's Coffee from the Polson Ltd., Bombay; his tin of Kraft Cheese being a responsibility of "Kraft

Worker Cheese Co., Ltd." Melbourne, Australia ; his Ovaltine being an obligation from " A. Wander Ltd., Quoeba," Devon Port, Tasmania ; his " Danish Wafers " being the charge of " Jensen & Moller Ltd." Copenhagen ; his Corn Flakes being manufactured at " Van Brode Milling Co." of Clinton, U.S.A. ; his Glaxo biscuit tin or a tin of say Britania Biscuits coming from the British Isles ; his tinned " Sardines " having been imported from " Jaegers Ltd." Stavanger, Norway ; his tomato Sause bottle having been shipped from " Hayward Bros." Christchurch, Canada ; and if he be a habitual smoker his tin of " Du Maurier " being the luxury provided by Virginia. And thus if the list of all his further daily requirements of lunch, dinner, drinks, laundry and all the rest of the essentialities of life, contributing to the full make up of a " Civilised person " of the modern society, be added, there will be found many more far off corners of the earth touched.

Such consumers abound in urban areas. And such areas are a direct outcome of centralisation of human populations. . To satisfy such urbanised consumers so many large scale specialised industries and many more subsidiary industries to the former have cropped up. To feed such industries again, all the producers of raw materials, all over the world, are straining their last nerve under the lure of money, losing sight of their very daily necessities of life.

The effects of such a consumer-society growing in the cities are grave. Before such a growth, an Indian village of ages gone by was absolutely self-

sufficient. By a strange system of conventions and traditions and even religious beliefs, the entire village economy was bound. Cropping traditions automati-

A self-sufficient village.

cally bound the villager not to grow cash crops at the expense of food crops.

He further grew all that was required

for his food and cloth locally and bound

by a strange belief never sold his grain for money. He never even sold milk and other such things of local use, because that was supposed to be a sin. Now any villager next door would be doing all that without the least scruples to his own family requirements, not to speak of village requirements. Village artisans then, like the local carpenter, weaver, the potter and the *durzee* were there to aid the tiller of the soil in all his requirements of agricultural implements, cloth and other necessities of life. And the latter in his own turn paid them in kind, more in a family way, bound by tradition than in a business like manner. Thus, there was a perfect family feeling running into the entire village community. Neither the lure of gold nor the temptations to a urbanised way of life perturbed the villager. The coarse cloth woven by the weaver, the local crude *biri* and the *chakmak*,* the *ghani* oils for different uses and the earthen *diva* were good enough to light the sweet little home of a villager. The tax-collector of the lord of the land was the only interference; but even to him the villager was to remit in kind only

* Lighter.

and hence no botheration about money. Even the local politics was an affair of their own Panchayat, which was a strong socio-political organisation to regulate the incongruous elements of the village. What Government would be worried, with such self-sufficient units—self-sufficient in all ways—with regard to adjusting their economy with foreign countries with formalities of trade talks and tariffs at least in respect to things like food and cloth. It was only for certain luxury goods or things of art that governments of those times might have thought in terms of foreign trade.

Advent of machine age and growth of such a consumer society as aforesaid, tempted that Adam
Lure of Money Economy. in the villager to taste the prohibited fruit. In India it was heralded with the British regime. Lancashire Mills required to be fed. And for that lure of money was introduced in the villages. He was given the fine textured mill cloth, and the box of safety-matches, and “Scissor cigarettes,” and fine scented oils, and kerosene lamps and their kerosene to light their homes brighter and come out of that so-called crude civilisation of old. The villager was overjoyed to find such a heaven on earth and at once acclaimed the benign British Raj. But now he required more money and for that he was whispered to grow more cash crops. After all the benign British Raj and the machine age had brought the locomotive and the steamer and even the aeroplane and shortened distances beyond imagination. We

could not starve. Food could come from Egypt or America and cloth from England. And all that we required could be brought in a wink. Even Ravan, I suppose, could not be quicker with his suzerainty over heavens in providing things so fast to his golden Lanka. So our cultivator fell on growing cash crops with vengeance. Conventions were broken with no regrets and the theories towards complete liberty to the cultivator to grow anything he liked over his holding were propounded. In more than many ways the Indian peasant was thus made restive only in the wrong direction to rise in revolt against this traditions and customs and against his own village Panchayats. The law came to his plausible rescue with all that hierarchy of revenue courts and revenue beaurocracy.

The peasant was thus growing more for the industries far away, farther than his own rustie conceptions could lead him to, than for his own essential requirements of life. In plain words, he had learnt to grow more for curreney coins than for food and clothing. Natural consequence was, with all the cash in hand, for his basic needs he had to look out for outside help. Hitherto self-sufficient economy of his village became a sort of fodder-economy for the urban industries. The indutries in their own turn made him all the more dependent on outside help. This made the village-artisan a superfluous being.

Seeing his brother so advanced and having lost his own vocation, the village-artisan now naturally chose to go to the cities; and there he either educated himself and became a clerk or a lawyer, or missing

this sold himself as a day-labourer in the Mills. Thus the life merrily moved on to a change until one day the peasant, as the entire world around him, found himself suddenly knee-deep in the swamp of a civilisation of controls. A sort of civilisation which his fore-fathers could never have dreamt of in their wildest of dreams, when they could safely be heard to say that at least their bread and butter would be their own even under a most tyrannical rule. Can their successors, wearing far better linens and counting many more coins, even dare to repeat the same thing for themselves? None to blame, it is the natural consequence of tasting that prohibited fruit. What else can a cultivator expect than a dole of food-grains from outside, when under lure of gold he is growing tobacco for the Virginia Cigarettes or cotton for Lancashire Mills, with criminal disregard for food-stuffs either for himself or for his community? If that dole is not given any time there is no other alternative but to go empty stomach or make a bread of tobacco, cotton or jute.

This sorry picture presents us with another problem of our day. Man eats what the mother earth gives him through the plough and so do our factories. It is the villages all the world over, that have the natural means and ends for the use of that plough.

They are the producers. The cities are essentially consumers on the other hand. Today the cities are unconsciously devouring their very life-giving villages. Directly, they are sucking out the very

Consumer
eating the
Producer.

man-power from the latter, when the young villagers are seen renovated into lawyers and clerks by virtue of our modern education, or in cases of extremity into factory-labour. Indirectly, the present centralised economic set-up is changing the-very conception of village life, from a production-economy to a consumer-economy. This problem entails no trifling results and it has already begun to gaze into the very face of our modern civilisation. It seems as if we are eating away our own flesh to satisfy our hunger. Dealing with the latter more explicitly, the villager, when he begins to need food, cloth and other requirements of life from outside, he becomes a consumer. Even his production is for the Mills which primarily make consumer goods more for luxury. Thus the city has introduced a false production economy in the villages. It may best be left to be imagined what will happen if producers become consumers thus.

But more criminal is the virtual waste of man-power drawn from the villages towards the enticing bait of the big droning industries of the cities. By making a man just a cog in the hum-drum of a stupendous mechanised activity all his intrinsic creative faculty is reduced to drudgery, which makes him a wreck by the time he is nearing fifty. And with no love lost he is thrown out like a burnt up cigar in favour of a more energetic young person. Shree Kumarappa calls it a type of slavery. All work he says contains two elements. One is the "creative element which makes for the development

and happiness of the individual" and the other is the element of "toil and drudgery." **Machine and Man.** And when toil and drudgery alone remain, having taken away all personal "initiative" from the worker leading to a "decay of personality," Kumarappa outright characterises it as slavery. Then in the same context he goes on to describe the modern machine-ridden Capitalism as follows: "By the invisible power of finance man was shorn off all his faculties and was reduced to live by the exercise of his muscles as a beast of burden under modern capitalistic empires." Here again, he has got no sparing word for communism too when he further goes on to say—"In both, Capitalism and Communism, or as a matter of fact, in all large-scale production, the worker becomes a mere hand where head and heart are hardly exercised." Thus Shree Kumarappa ultimately believes that this head and heart could only function where an individual is not required to take "exercise under external order" and that is only possible in a decentralised economic order, or what is also termed as "villagism."

Thus, leaving a discussion on "villagism" for the present, with such a perverted philosophy of work, our large-scale industries—progenies of a centralised economic order—have first and foremost criminally wasted the man-power, drawn from so many age-old decentralised productive centres of society. And on that score they are in fact rightly guilty of committing violence to human personality and international morality alike. The labourer, they have reduced

from a living human organism to lifeless mechanical tool. Of the consumer, they have made an unscrupulous squanderer, with the false economic ideologies of "ever increasing wants" and "world's limitless resources" thrust into his conceptions of civilisation. Of the producer again (in the villages), they have made a helpless serf, who has practically been sold with his resources to the purpose of such industries for the "lure of gold" they have offered him. And lastly, these industries themselves all combined, have become such a preposterous glutton on society with all their requirements of raw-materials and spare parts that no word could be found for it. The modern gluttony of just a mere individual, spreading its fangs far and wide and sucking upon the vitals of the remotest resources of our Mother Earth, has already been pictured above to our utter dismay. In contrast to that what must be the gluttony of all these industries combined meaning to our earth and our civilisation can best be imagined. There should be little wonder if the climax of this state of affairs should be wars and repeated wars. It is a matter of commonsense that such unrestrained claims and counter-claims of an individual or an industry should go to make for the ever increasing claims and counter-claims of nations; and such ever increasing claims and counter-claims of nations go only to contribute towards a chaos, internal and international alike. East has imbibed this culture as a sort of bad habit. Such

industries are a direct evolute of an over-centralised civilisation.

Two great world conflagrations have clamoured already within half a century at the very portals of our civilisation with a loud warning and the atomic and hydrogenic monsters are already looming large with an ominous shadow over us. Yet all that does not seem to have brought home to us all the folly of our way of life. That is why H. G. Wells had to utter the words: "Humanity seems to be in a delirium." Whatever the Westerners may think of it or whenever they may get the leisure to readjust it, we Easterners have to take note of this situation and make amends without the least loss of time. We are emerging into a new era of freedom and reconstruction. And we are still weak and undeveloped. Germs of disease always take hold of a weaker body first. So far we were spoon-fed under our conquerers. But now, by force of circumstance, they have left us to ourselves. Yet they would much like to see us with a sense of crucked humour as to how we fair with our oddities. We have to take a full note of it without gloating over our achievement of freedom only. As somebody had cautioned lately we have now to deserve the freedom attained.

**No Time to
Loose.**

But with all these cautions, it seems we are taking life too easily, indulging into the luxurious royal game of party politics. And the imprint of the West too seems to be too deep on us. To review the situation a little further, our intelligentsia is cent

per cent drawn from educational centres, which carry a western mould to the very core of their structure and, to add, that too bereaft of the fineries of the western system. The reason can well be noted. We generally adopt a western system when in the due process of time we begin to understand it. And by the time we understand it unfortunately it becomes an outdated and discarded fact at the very place of its origin in favour of a newer one. Thus in crude phraseology we imbibe a rot when it has rotted to the very core.

To take a practical example of education imparted so far in our institutions, as alluded to above in passing, take an youth from the villages, who has aspiringly stepped forward to be educated somewhere in the city-located centres of education. It may be pointed out here that since generations he has belonged to the productive side of the society. After a full educational career the aspirant only knows that his future is either as a clerk or a lawyer or a technician—all according to the type of education he has received. For example, if he has qualified himself as a "B. Se., Ag." he feels, his brightest future is only in seeking employment in some Government Agricultural department with the highest aspiration to become an Agriculture Officer and so on, rather than in serving his village community and along with it his own family by employing his technical knowledge

**Western
Influence and
Education.**

**Education
which draws
us to
Consumer
Society.**

to make his own family farm-stead into a teeming model farm for the village, which may mean more bread and butter to himself and his family. He cannot even consider that economically the period lost in searching an employment and settling down in a new life means as much as employing certain amount of capital towards developing such a farm. The apparent reason is that the poor fellow has only learnt theory at the expence of practice and has further learnt ways of life which make him a miserable misfit in the very village from which he comes and where his father and mother might still be living. He is better trained to hate and pity the village-life in which his parents had earned their livelihood the whole life, instead of making it a heaven of his cherished ideals through the education he has received.

Such is the stock produced by our (what may be termed as) centralised academie education of universities, which trains our head at the expense of our heart and body. With an untrained or ill-trained heart, under a dose of westernisation, we reject all morals unawares, under the zeal of rejecting all antiquated social customs and religions. And it is a sort of mad zeal which does not allow us even the

**Its Rever-
beration in
Society and
Politics.**

patience to pause for a moment to examine and select some such patterns, hidden in such antiquated customs, which had kept our society alive so long, and which—if scrutinised without pride or prejudice—could still prove to bear some eternal meaning to humanity, irrespective of a parti-

cular time or place. How could we expect patience, when patience was never taught to us. Similarly with an ill-trained body again, we lack the physical acumen and the practical urge alike for employing our cultured mind in creative spheres of social activity. Thus it is that out of such a stock, poor in character and physique, the cream of our legislators and politicians is drawn. Little could be hoped out of such a feeble and alien make-up, added to an alien way of electioneering and governance.

Today what we need has very aptly been put by Shree Rajagopalacharya in the following words during one of his speeches at Cuttack, when he was Governor-General, “. . . Not even talent is so important as character. Human affairs are simple enough. Men want clothing, food and shelter and they want order, peace, mutual co-operation and mutual kindness. . . . In order to produce these you do not want extraordinary talents (*which we see so coquetishly exhibited in our centralised systems*)* but good understanding and commonsense and kindness and consideration for others and a sense of justice and disgust for anything mean and dishonest.”

To judge our present day “commonsense, etc.” now in the above context, let us take finance for example, as a touch-stone to the integrity of any worldly management, personal or national. Any

* Italics added by the author.

thoughtful present day tax-payer cannot help putting his finger to the mouth in awe and surprise to see the unwarranted swing of his country's national budget to a scale of ever increasing deficits. There was a time when he was exhorted by his Finance Minister to sacrifice more of his hard earned money "for the greater good," only when his nation was threatened with a war. But now he finds that the exhortation of the Finance Ministry, continues in peace times even demanding more and more sacrifice from his overburdened pocket, thus battering at the very portals of a reasonable standard of living. He cannot help wondering under such circumstances, whether it is in peace or in war he is existing. An American magazine very aptly gives vent to this feeling when it writes: "The high cost of government has become a vital consideration to every tax-payer. Vast expenditures in times of war are unavoidable, but John Citizen has a right to expect a substantial decrease in government expense when peace returns."

On the other hand, "John Citizen" finds that even in the so called peace times, defence expenditures cover well over sixty per cent of his state budget. Out of the balance well nigh twenty per cent are covered by expenditures necessary for the upkeep of the top heavy centralised machinery of governance. And the remaining is distributed amongst items which are either wasteful or not very productive. Thus for expenditures on the productive items government has

only to look forward to raising loans of all sorts. And even then the last item is comparatively but a shamefully meagre percentage. That may be what may be termed by experts as, a layman's reading of the national budget—a reading by “John, the Citizen.” But with all their technicality the experts, would only help but little in retouching the aforesaid picture.

Here again, “John the Citizen,” may also be very rightly tempted to draw a simile of such a national budget with an individual's budget thus. With the budget of a person, who spends major portion of his income on litigation (a sort of individual defence expenditure); then on the upkeep of his so called dignity and social status; and then a very meagre amount on bear necessities of life, well high running into debts for the last item; would you not be rightly concerned with respect to the ominous future of such a prodigal friend? At least surely you would by no chance call him wise.

Once when Shree Kumarappa was travelling in Afghanistan (as he himself told me) it was through a very bumpy road that he had to rattle along, Upon questioning a government official on the pitiable condition of his country's roads, Shree Kumarappa got the reply that even with such roads every Afghan was at least happy, unlike a British Indian subject, with plenty to eat and wear in his house. Governments with bad communications cannot be called advanced according to modern conceptions. But at least they are less criminal than

governments who can afford to see empty bellied subjects in favour of glittering capitals and glorious nobility. Our Rajas of Puranic times might be catagorised amongst primitives. But when they asked just two or three simple questions to a sage or a secluded subject of their jungle realms (or Tapovans) while on a hunting excursion, as to whether the latter had enough grains in his house, milk and honey and clothes to wear and whether he was threatened by no robbers and thieves ; and on receiving a reply—" O, mighty one there could be no question of searcity or fear from the wicked in a realm like that of yours"—they felt happy and satisfied. It was surely a better satisfaction, I suppose, of a ruler than that of the so called popularly elected rulers of today who would just be satisfied with fine verbos and a great ovation in return from a public—heavily taxed, ill-fed, ill-clothed and stuffed with ideologies, with a constant fear of war. Thus we moderners are employing "extraordinary talents" under a heavy load of wisdom aquired of recently, to solve our "simple human problems" at the expense of "good understanding and commonsense and kindness and consideration" (to use Rajaji's phraseology).

Our centralised systems are a net result of that. And they have bequeathed to us a centralised polity, a centralised economy and a centralised education, all leading to centralised wars. Seratched at the very first lair we might find under such systems, bitter selfishness, inhumanity and greed raging in their ghastliest form.

III

HUMAN PERSONALITY AND POLITICS

(STRIKE THE ROOT AND GET THE REMEDY)

BEFORE passing a final verdict over our centralised systems, which we know, have wrought much ruin to our civilisation, we have to examine their place in the history of human-evolution.

Human-being was called human because he had constantly striven to be human evermore from his very inception. Otherwise he was as much an animal of the creation as any other, so far as mere physical activities of eating, drinking and the like were concerned. The Creator had bestowed upon him the additional qualification of intellect which was always to be reckoned more than the animal instinct. Instinct of self-preservation was in common with all and with it man cultivated a group-instinct, again like many species of animals. But whereas those species stopped short there, he proceeded to cultivate a capacity towards organisation and further entered deep into the very meaning of this organisation. He realised after continued reflections that there existed a Supreme organisation behind the diversified activity of the Creation itself around him and his secret of success

**The Three-fold
Human-Personality, and
the Three
Sciences of
Life.**

lay only in striking a note of harmony with it. In an organised way he should live, in an organised way he should think and in an organised way he should learn to feel. That brought him face to face with his threefold personality of body, head and heart. The three main sciences of life which he developed on the basis of this threefold personality were, economics, politics and social-ethics. Through economics he evolved a science of bread and butter and its entailing aspects of production and consumption. Through politics he evolved an outer force to organise the production and consumption of that bread and butter. And through social-ethics he created an inner-force or feeling for the same.

He realised it for a fact that for his bread and butter it was not only he who was to live, but all those who contributed to the production of it. And there not only his fellow-beings but even the animals and the plant life around him were involved. We need not dilaete upon it here that in agriculture, animals and natural surroundings contribute as much as human effort itself.* Thus with the fact of

**The Fact of
Live and Let
Live, and
Rights and
Duties.**

“live” “let live” is involved and hence the popularly known axiom of “live and let live” With the first part of it rose the conception of human rights. And with the latter, the conception of duties. This very latter conception was responsible for giving birth to large heartedness

* For foot-note see next page.

and fellow-feeling amongst mankind. All the human philosophies and religions to follow were just an amplification of that. To realise our duties is in fact the best way to serve our rights. Duties alone strike at that much cherished note of harmony with our surroundings. The idea of duties is an idea peculiar to humanity alone and can very well be called just another word for the term "humanity." It is a direct evolute of our heart. Efforts made in this direction alone are efforts rightly human.

With this conception, Shree Kumarappa has categorised our economy into six parts, where rights and duties vary according to the development of human-outlook. To begin with is, what is termed

* Many an American land experts like Osborn and Vogt have declared that vegetation is as necessary to contribute towards the bio-potential of an agricultural land as manuring itself. It protects erosions, and provides much natural manure in the shape of phosphates and other chemicals in addition to ameliorating—other biological factors. Here, these experts also contend that even the animal world is of no mean importance in this respect. Bones and corpses of animals introduce the requisite bacteriological activity in making the soil richer. And then again, so many animals are antidotes to so many known and unknown species of insects which may be baneful to soil. (Read specially Osborn's *Our Plundered Earth*—the first part in this respect). Hence the Indian religious theories of mercy towards animals and even plants, which even go to the extent of their worship in different forms. After all they are the contributors to our prosperity in that sense and are at the same time our very natural assets.

as the *parasitic economy*, which is based on a selfish idea of consumption without the least contribution towards production. It is “a robber’s or a tiger’s economy.” Then comes the *predatory economy*, which is a sort of thief’s economy, or economy of benefit without contribution towards it. Next is *economy of enterprise*, which is like that of a cultivator or a labourer who contributes his best of effort and enjoys the fruits of his own labour. Production begins to achieve a major role there. Higher still is the *economy of gregation*, where the group idea predominates and an individual’s effort is for the entire group rather than for his own individual self—where the individual only shares the benefit with others. And last but the highest type of economy is the *economy of service*, motivated by the good of others even if the work is detrimental to self-interest in a gross outward sense. Gross outward sense, because man prompted by such a spirit essentially elevates his spirit and considers any material loss to be an outward loss only. That can also be termed as an *economy of a Mahatma*.

Thus we find that our economy begins with greed and violence, which is very much in common with other animals. It only becomes more and more human as duty begins to have the upper hand over rights. Here we may say that the animal in man is to be found in his assertion for rights. To check that animal in man the sciences of politics and religion have come into existence. Both the sciences have

* Read Economy of Permanence, Part I, by J. C. Kumarappa.

acted as complimentary forces—one from outside and the other from inside, as aforesaid—in always striving to keep alive in man his essential manhood. Taking the case of India itself in this respect, three main currents have poured the very life-blood in the veins of our society through all vicissitudes of time from the hoariest past. *Varnashram Dharma* was the first amongst them. Then came a most psychologically graded ethical order. And last but not the least was a politico-economic order of village panchayats, which well nigh formed the very backbone of our political systems of yore.

To illucidate the very first, entire social order of this country was most scientifically graded into four castes. These four castes are more or less based on four psychological types, which might be found even where caste-system does not exist. Caste to be recognised by birth in the modern Indian society

**Economics
and
Varnashram
System.** denotes only the degeneration of a long neglected system. Thus the “Shudra type” may be considered to be synonymous with Kumarappa’s first two types of economy; the “Vaishya type” with the third; the “Kshatriya type” with the fourth and the “Brahman type” with the last. And each of the types had their own attributed functions. Castes were also changed according to the changing aptitudes of mind and heart. *Vedavyas* was a *Shudra* by birth and was reckoned amongst the greatest of *Rishis* of the age by virtue of his magnanimity of mind. *Vishwamitra* was a *Kshatriya*,

on the other hand, and was only exelaimed *Brahm-marshi* by *Vashishtha* when he had achieved a certain stage of "Brahmmanhood." Thus the Hindu Scriptures are full of such examples.

In addition to this, the entire human life was distributed into four *Ashrams* or compartments, according to which one could conveniently go through one process of self-development to the other. He would begin as a *Shudra*, which was the stage before his thread ceremony.* The thread ceremony would herald the beginning of his career of self-development. And by the time he reached the last *Ashram* he could even achieve Brahmanhood by purity of character. Without going into details, such a system essentially gave that person a higher place in society who reckoned duty above rights. It thus created a healthy competition and consciousness for duties—much unlike the modern times—as an essential factor to an ever increasing humanism. We need not repeat here, that what we find today is just a sham carcass of once so living an organism.

Along with such a *Varnashram Dharma*, on a deeper study of our ancient religious organisations, we can further detect a most psychologically based ethical order in which an individual found an easy staircase which could lead him to the loftiest summits of the basic philosophy of life. This order follows the most natural trend of human mind and leads it to its ideal like a "grandsire" leading a child by the finger

The Hindu
Ethical Order.

* "Janmanā Jayaté Shudra, Sanskārāt-dwij uchyaté."

through all his shortcomings and drawbacks. And there is ample testimony to the fact that it also contributed in no mean a way towards the preservation of a high ethical standard in the society for centuries. Thus if we study the natural evolution of our mind, we would find that elementary mental attraction is towards the 'apparent' or the outer form. Hence what is known as *Sanatanism* starts with an Image or Symbol worship. The mind then enters into the nature of its object of observation and there we can detect the beginnings of Nature worship, or the worship of the forces of nature in the form of *Havans* and *Yagyas*. It then goes on to assimilate the "inner meaning" or the essential truth of it by a process of meditation and that is the third stage, recognised as "Yogie Activity." Finally arrives the stage when the mind has grasped the Truth and has, as a result, achieved complete identification with the object of observation or the Ideal. That is in fact very hard to achieve for an average man. But when achieved it may make of one a Ramkrishna or even a Buddha, Christ or a Muhammad.

To understand still further what such an ethical order could mean to the society: the object of observation or the Ideal for a human-being since the hoariest past had been the fact to be human—a

“Son of God.” His focus was on perfection more than on mere satisfaction of his animal wants. That was a craving of what is poetically termed as his “still smaller voice.” And with that lurching spirit at heart he started his career. He saw the sunny-day and the thunder-storm in nature and birth and death and its innumerable diversities. He feared and wondered at all that and contemplated in his mind. What he found was a Purpose behind it all, an unity in diversity, an organisation. And further, he recognised that Purpose, that Organisation, as the Spirit running in animate and inanimate alike, like a cohesive force, and gave It the name of God. Disorganisation was thus a Devil. With this basic Truth he proceeded to harmonise himself as much with his own inner nature as with the vast Nature around him. Philosophies and Religions are but recorded testimonies to this very fact.

Our Seers saw the Truth and prescribed it for the common run in the form of symbols, stories and parables and family customs. A child must study through a map of India to grasp the whole idea of what is geographically known as India. Similarly, the symbol of *Bharat Mata* is sufficient to cultivate and lash patriotism in an average man of the street. Hence, to those who were on such an average level, a symbol served amply to fill the vacuum of their mind without confounding it with abstractions and subtleties. Virtues were thus impounded in the very day life of an individual. That was the

**The Essential
Ideal of Man.**

**Symbol or
Image the
First step to
the Ideal.**

meaning of the very first, or the primary ethical order of our country, known as Image-worship. And there is no denying the fact, it has decidedly played an important role in keeping the animal in man well controlled. For example, the idea of Heaven and Hell and the punishments visualised for different diversions from virtue were enough to bridle a lay man from inhuman behaviour. Similarly there were many agricultural or household conventions and practices—varying according to the requirements of a place—which were to be violated only on pain of displeasure of a certain family or village Deity.

Though it may be against the interests of brevity, it would be interesting to note here, even as an example, a few essential but simple charities of life the people of yore in India believed in. To begin with, a man of meagre means was at least to plant a tree in his life-time as a mark of free service towards the society. Is not our Food Minister exhorting us for the same today? Then, if one was better off, he was similarly supposed to have a *Po* or watering place built for the village cattle. Still better off may have a well dug in his locality. Better still may even have a *Dharmshala* (a free Resting House) or a Temple, etc., made. And for all that it may be remembered the one great promise was, Heaven. This was a sort of constant reminder to the society to the high dignity of Kumarappa's "Economy of Service." Thus innocently our countrymen automatically did under the dictates of religion what they would never

have been impressed to do even after a series of technical lectures on varied subjects.

This shows us well enough how a most elementary ethical order of symbols, stories, and conventions, wisely planned, has gone far enough in disciplining the common-run with the least external force to a bigger organisation. If we explore any other great religion with that idea—Buddhism, Christianity or Islam for that matter—we would discover much the same sort of ethical order of psychological gradations, beginning with some sort of symbolism in their elementary stages.* Religions are guardian angels to the commonest of the common. As such no wise religion can afford to lose sight of the fact that society is made more of laymen, and philosophers bedeck it only here and there. It has to stoop down to conquer, as it were, and not only to sit sombre on the high pedestal of abstract mysticism. A man has to be led to the ideal through his own weaknesses. Hence his mental evolution through an ethical education step by step. Gross symbolism in the shape of Image worship or conventions, automatically

* For example in Buddhism, Mahayan cult (the Tibetan Lamaism, Chinese Zenism, or Japanese Jodoism) is an ethical order, as it may be said to guide such who are at their very ebb of spirituality. On the other hand the Hinyan cult, which apparently rejects symbolism, is for the more sober minds.

Similarly, Christianity begins with the Catholic Church, which takes resort to symbolism more than the other orders, which range from Protestantism to Puritanism.

So also in Islam, symbolism could be detected at the outset and Sufism could be said to be the summit of Islamic ethics.

assumes a secondary position as the mind reaches the second stage, described above, when it begins to grasp the very nature and meaning of things or symbols. Therafter may start the stage of contemplation or meditation on the deeper meaning of those things or symbols. And finally may come the ultimate realisation. But for the purposes of the day to day social life the first two stages suffice. Modern man's ostentation may be hurt at that. But his claims to a higher level of mental development at once fall flat where comparatively he has only achieved what may be termed as scientific barbarism to replace a simple barbarism of his forefathers. He may be reminded that stuffing of the brain is a thing quite apart from real knowledge. Real knowledge is Humanity in short. Today we exist in an age of shut-door psychology—self-satisfied only with what has been stuffed in our brains. Thus to return to the subject, the next two ethical stages may be taken for granted to be more or less a monopoly of the philosophers and better be left to them. It is always dangerous to assume airs of over-wisdom, which the society is actually doing today. That is why we find ourselves amidst a highly confounded and much ruffled civilisation.

Tired of such a civilisation—what may be termed as an over-wise civilisation—one should much like to resign himself today into the hands of philosophers, propounding fitting conventions or modes of behaviour for the society, rather than be placed under a rigid and diehard rule of law, administered by our "popular

ministers" under the fleecy nomenclature of democracy. That would be a more spontaneous rule.

Law can be escaped in a "black market" or where the mighty arms of police may fail to reach. But the fear of Hell cannot be escaped in the darkest cellar of earth, for it is the innermost police of the heart. It is for the society thus to have ingenuity and spontaneity enough to formulate and adapt according to the times its own modes of conduct. Politics should only rest content with policing over them. There ends the latter's function virtually. What could happen can well be imagined, where police should become the Judge and the legislature, all combined in one. Human civilisations were the least governed whenever they had a living society to guide them. Today society is stultified in favour of a rigid external control.* As a result it has forgotten to stand on its own legs. Having lost its natural controls, it has fallen into a habit of endless complaints when applied with external controls. Strikes all over, strikes of all sorts are a clear exposition of that habit. Thus an unnatural

* Here the note of caution sounded by Dr. Col. S. S. Vazifdar to the Bombay Government to cure the people from the curse of drink by "persuasive education," rather than by the "coercive legislation" at a recent Medical Congress in Bombay should go good for any such idealistic act of Government. He further cited the example of the Soviet Government, which he said had eliminated Russian drunkenness not by prohibition but by effective propaganda through press, platform and the screen.

growth of the fungus of external controls has only defeated their purpose and rotted the society to the very core.

Coming to the Panchayat system of India : Just as subtler philosophies of life are too abstruse for the common-run, so too are the empires and the over-centralised politics, much too complicated to be effective guides to the multitude. The bigger a political unit, the lesser it is in touch with the individual and his all round development. It then begins to treat the values of life collectively and not intrinsically. It becomes like the teacher of an unwieldy class of students, who naturally grows the habit of reckoning the progress of his class as a whole. Individual growth of a defective character is overlooked and the malaise spreads unnoticed until it assumes dangerously overwhelming proportions. A real democracy would allow and guide a free and healthy development of all the three aspects of human personality—body, head and heart. For a cumbersome centralised political system, problems of even a single aspect would mean so much that if it makes a genuine effort at concentrating on just one, it will be at the most undesirable expense of the other two. And if it makes a bold bid to look to all three, none of them will be well looked after. The example of our own day makes it clear. Modern politics concentrates on the grossly material side of the human personality. All preaching is about food and clothes. All effort is towards that end. And even education,

**Smaller
Political Units
vs. Larger
Political Units.**

only teaches us (to put it in a erude phraseology) how best to grab at the food and clothes, wherever visible on earth, for self-consumption. Result is, we have learnt to "live" just to feed and clothe our body without the mind or heart towards the finer values in us contained in ideal of "let live." We have forgotten that "let live" is a necessary corollary to "live." Our economic philosophy itself is "ever increasing wants" which runs contrary to all human concepts. To guard against all this only our Indian polity of old, as much as our philosophies of life and society, began from the very bottom, where the focus was the individual. There were social and political panchayats amidst every community and in every village. They looked after the life of the individual in all its aspects. They were a sort of guardians-on-spot, fostering self-sufficiency materially, and self-reliance and high morale mentally and spiritually. Bigger, or what may be termed as "collective" functions of society—like national defence, war and peace—were left to the State, or the larger political unit in the shape of an empire, kingdom or a republic. It was a good division of labour. Not only the Orient but even the Occident gives evidence to the importance of smaller political units of control, where we hear of the famous Greek city States. Man had to organise himself and it was more practical through smaller units. The bad taste for larger political units and empire-building was fostered by the proud military campaigners and Conquerors like, Gangis and Alexander and the protagonists of the *Sarvabhom*

Chakravarti ideal in India, synonymous with the British Ideal of "Paramount Power."

Moderners have adopted this ideal in their own way with greater zest. And as if that was not enough, to add flavour to it, they have introduced a new type of economic empire-building. Just on the heels of religious upheavals, in the middle ages, West saw a great revolution—the "Industrial Revolution." And its flames engulfed the whole world in no time and cultures and civilisations were affected according to their impact with it. Science brought

Advent of the Machine-age. machine to the aid of man and he was over-pleased. He thought he had mastered the machine. But soon enough he found he himself was helplessly mastered by it. The creative spontaneity of the individual's effort had turned into a mechanical drudgery. Like the big motor-pump, well nigh draining all the subterranean channels of the surroundings, adversely affecting the neighbouring wells, wealth accumulated in those few hands which had the means to command the machine. Self-sufficiency and self-reliance had to give way to such a deadly impact, and humanity was attracted like pests to the centres where the machine existed. Today we are reduced to a condition when we have no alternative but to feed ourselves on machine, clothe on machine, drink on machine and "be merry" even on machine. We cannot conceive of a life without machine.

That is where we begin to see our centralised systems coming into shape in all the three essential spheres of our economic, political and even social activity. And that is where again we for the first time find our personality threatened by a three-pronged attack—an attack engineered by the Industrial Revolution, an ever growing mentality towards imperialism and power-politics, and an attitude of religious misbelief, all nurtured by mediæval Europe. The first two have given birth to each other while the last is a child of the religious persecutions of the mediæval period in the West and religious stagnation of the same period in the East. Net result is, those very sciences which helped to organise us as human-beings and for that to become the very masters of the situation, are only now promising us a doomsday. Our Economics has degenerated into theories of utter greed and selfishness; politics into shallow conflicting “isms” and power politics; and lastly, social ethics into a blind craze after breaking all restraints, moral or material, basically important for social harmony. Never before was man faced with such a problem, when the children of his own brain have challenged his very existence.

The task of the reformer today, therefore, is very difficult and intriguing. He has to focus as much on the individual as the group or the society, for both are organically connected. Furthermore, his remedy

has to be as much long-range as short-range. To
The Task quote the words of a wise man, "When
of the the condition of a patient is critical the
Reformer. wise doctor thinks both of immediate
 relief and long-range remedy." Because any of the
 two are to be overlooked only at the peril of the
 patient. Then again, the reformer has to keep it in
 mind that he has to guard against hasty action under
 an over-obsessed mind. Otherwise the remedy may
 be like the War Criminals' trials after the Second
 World War, which only satisfied a feeling of retri-
 bution on a grand scale and did nothing more.

Thus a reformer has to proceed today—not only
 in India but in any corner of the earth—with a very
 balanced mind. No rushing in of schemes is required,
 without regard to circumstances in a mad craze after
 novel ideologies. Novelty must not spread its charm
 to lead us away from gross realities. To take a few
 important issues of the day, for example, neither too
 much decentralisation nor an excessive bent on the
 other side of it, to mimic the West, will do. Cottage
 industries could be fostered side by side with large-
 scale industrialisation—only guarding against the fact
 that the latter is not at the expense of the former.
 Individual enterprise could be given its due place side
 by side with programmes of nationalisation of the
 key industries—keeping in full regard that killing of
 private initiative could only mean adversely to the
 Nation. Peasant proprietorship could likewise be
 saved from becoming a scapegoat to ideologies of
 collective-farming.

All this is but a cursory picture of an immediate remedy. The second and more thoughtful a task before the reformer is the reconstruction of a new social-ethics on the foundations of old, as a long-range remedy. And there right education and a wise propaganda machinery occupy the most important place. Real reconstruction of the society can only be assured with these.

Chapters to follow will discuss all these aspects elaborately. But in short we only mean to say here that a wise reform-policy can renovate the very poisoned trio of pincers to the human personality, referred to above into three potentates of progress. For it must be remembered that they have only emerged as a reaction to a stultified and degenerated order of old, and not as an absolute fact, in the history of our evolution. Today we have to guard against a counter-reaction against those very factors, which might be more like a revenge than reconstruction.

IV

THE LONG TERM REMEDY

IF our civilisation is to survive and for that the entire humanity no immediate and outward application can suffice to serve as a cure to the present day malady. The fallacy of it and the too plausible a relief provided by such an approach has been glaringly exhibited already in a carnage of world-wide greed and hatred which follows the two World Wars, added with an utter bankruptcy of moral values. Our senses do not seem to react with the same feeling of resentment and provocation to ravages of naked greed and passion in the society as they would have only a few years back. The applications to the malady, therefore, have to be more introspective and long-term. The inner-most portals of our personality will have to be surveyed and an appeal made to our very soul. Education of the right type seems to be the one and only way—education of the growing man as much as that of the grown-up or the perverted. School is the field for the education of the growing man; but the education of the latter two will have to be covered by the wider field of propaganda and prison reforms, where one cannot escape going either for recreation or for correction. Thus only it is possible to reach nearest to our personality and repair it.

Taking the education of the schools first, if our threefold personality—the physical, the mental and the spiritual—bears any meaning to us our modern education falls too short of it. In India it is primarily mental and that too on the lines laid out by the West.

Education of the Growing Man. Physical side receives a very negligible attention. But the spiritual side has entirely become a child of gross misunderstanding and neglect for this age.

In this respect we should be little surprised to find much the same picture all over the World. But physical side will definitely be found given more attention to in the Western countries than in India.

Our Mental Education. Hence to take the mental side of our education into consideration first, which occupies such a conspicuous place in the modern age, we have to reflect on the conceivable aspects which go to make a good mental education.

Unbalanced curriculum is one of the foremost defects of our educational systems. It is a pity to see the mind of a child, budding with all its virginity and more receptive to anything new and wonderful, than the prejudice-clogged mind of a grown up, at once clamped on all sides with the most poisonous

Unbalanced Curriculum. bookish knowledge. Thus little time is left for its alround development which would have made the child understand better the world outside the school, where ultimately he has to make his life's essential "struggle for existence." In the words of an educationist, Shree Adinath Sen : " The course should

be above the restraints of precedents, the exigencies of examinations, demands of schools. . . . It is to be essentially a training of body, mind and character through games, etc. for health ; formal instructions in an atmosphere of sympathy and vitality for intellect ; attractive and inspiring social environment for character, imagination and interest of children, rather than passive obedience." On the other hand what we generally find is a course which makes the budding youth a drone in later life, stunted in growth and bankrupt in originality and character. Curriculum of studies has to be viewed just like a programme for mental exercises according to the aptitude of mind. Hence the simile, of exercises on the physical side carried to an excess and resulting in a nervous breakdown bears much truth in this respect. Six hours for books in the lower standard and eight hours in the higher ones, in or outside the class, are quite sufficient for a student.

Next comes the media of instruction. Nothing, how-so-ever profound can be as effective and appealing as a thing conveyed in one's own tongue. The simplest exhortation of a mother would mean much more than a philosopher's jargon. Again every tongue has its own peculiarities of idioms, phrases and words. A foreign medium of instruction can well be expected thus, to be a square peg in a round hole. Lastly, the teachers themselves will fail to convey the right sense with a borrowed vehicle of instruction. How can the teaching be sound under such circumstances ?

**Media of
Instruction.**

As a close corollary to the medium, comes the mode of instruction. The mode or method should essentially be true to the soil and the surroundings (as we may say) or else it will fall short of the objective in the same way. Here the task is of preparing and

Mode of Instruction. selecting the right type of text books. For an Indian student, for example, a story or a subject-matter with an Indian background would be more assimilable than a similar thing with European background. It makes a good deal of cultural difference. Then again, a subject matter should be sensible and not like the Donald Duck stories of the day out of which neither sense nor a moral nor social lesson can be derived. The world has already had enough of nonsense to produce more.

Lack of general education and training in social services is another marked feature of our educational systems. Our education is more towards the production of linguistic proficiency than towards complete development of personality. The result is the overflowing of clerical and legal-practitioners' market at the expense of all other walks of national life, village or urban. Educational tours, practical training in so many spheres of social services, and field work should go a long way to contribute towards this end, and they should form a part and parcel of the curriculum. A young man must grow a taste for social services. West too seems to lack in it. Hence we hear of "Public leadership-training schools

and centres" and the like now being introduced in America. But we have to guard against an extra crop of ambitious leaders. All that our nation requires is genuine servers of the common-run.

Good manners and disciplined character is another blatantly neglected feature of our education. A retired Bombay Judge in one of his recent articles says, "Good breeding and good manners imply that each member of the society should exercise over himself the same degree of self control, that he demands on the part of all others, so that he himself may enjoy that degree of freedom of action which he considers his own due." This advice needs be driven home to every young mind in the making. It is but essential in the interest of a future disciplined society which should really one day have an integrity to see the "black market" out.* This training would be possible in a "Hostel system" discussed later.

Next comes the biggest of the curses of our modern educational systems, the examination phobia. It has resulted in many suicides and nervous breakdowns without number amongst students. And if nothing else, cramming for examinations has always resulted in permanent loss of health and ban-

* Present-day education, said Pt. Nehru at the opening of the session of the recent Science Congress held at Bangalore, missed the concept of good poised life. These educated men failed to live a poised and integrated way of life.

kruptcy of brains in later life. For that the American system of no examinations has to be preferred and examined. Examinations could well be replaced by "All-round Development Charts" for students. Promotions should then be according to that. Only in University stages, examinations may come into the picture for specialised studies. Proficiency tests are otherwise advisable. But they too may only serve as complementary factors to the aforesaid all round development charts.

Modern education has another very undesirable feature, which is going very much unnoticed. It leaves a legacy of what we may term as "shut-door knowledge" in an average mind. Believing proudly that we the educated have left behind the age-old superstitions, we have only crept into

**Shut-Door
Knowledge
as Against
Open-Door
Knowledge.**

fresh and more deadening superstitions. Now, shall we say, we are ruled by westernised scientific superstitions more than ever. Added to it is the psychology created by the terrible rush of confounding situations of our age. The youth finds himself restlessly lodged on a whirling swing. "Anything rather than pause to think for a few minutes, might be the motto of many," says a writer. The youth finds himself too busy and feels he has no time for deeper thought. And to get himself off from the mad rush of events he plunges himself recklessly into a life of sensual pleasures and superficial mental gymnastics, in a sort of frustration. That sort of development is ominous for humanity and our

education must make amends to check this tendency and inculcate what may be termed as "open-door-knowledge mindedness." The following utterance of Maharshi Ramkrishna is profound in this respect—"Enough to see and believe what God has given us ; much enough remains to be seen what He may bestow." It is that sort of attitude that we require.

While considering all these factors, one cannot help looking with regret to the present rank and file of the teachers, who do their jobs merely as a wage earner. Either it may be due to economic reasons or defective training and selection of teachers, or it may be due

to both. A teacher must feel that he
Teachers. has a task more responsible than even that of a minister of State. He should never forget that he is modelling the future humanity—child, the father of man. He must have a model way of personal life for himself and parental sympathy for his pupil. Element of superiority complex, a marked feature of an Indian teacher, must be quitted in favour of intimacy with the pupil. Education must be created to be the main interest of a teacher's life so that it is not taken as a commercial proposition. Special type of teachers' training schools and selection-boards should be set up for the purpose to choose an educational staff of a marked calibre.

Last but not the least, is the factor of unwieldy classes and location of educational institutes. To take the first, classes must essentially be manageable enough to allow the teachers to devote individual

attention to the all round development of his class-mates. I purposely use the word "class-mates" as it is that sort of feeling a teacher should cultivate between himself and his class. To come to the second point, institutes of learning should essentially be located far from the hub of the town life in a free rural atmosphere. A mind in the making can ill-afford to be over-ridden by so many urban diversions. It would be discussed later but educational institutes must early do away with the "day-scholar-system" and make themselves residential, where the student may be required to be one with the particular life of the place.

Thus to sum up, any mental education programme should do good to take note of the following factors : (1) a balanced curriculum according to the aptitude of the growing mind ; (2) a medium of instruction true to the mother tongue of the instructee ; (3) a mode of instruction "true to the soil" similarly ; (4) fostering of general education and a spirit for social services through practical methods ; (5) formation of good manners and disciplined character ; (6) elimination of the examination phobia by replacing it (for especially the pre-varsity education) with all round development charts and proficiency tests ; (7) inculcating of an 'open-door-knowledge' mindedness ; (8) selection of right-type of teachers—men of character having a sympathetic and intimate attitude towards their pupils ; (9) manageable classes and institutes

far removed from the daily dingo of the town life to a free and rural atmosphere.

Turning to the physical side of our education, though there is ample realisation of the fact that "a healthy body contains a healthy mind," there seems to be little effort towards that end, particularly in our country. And if there is any such effort at all that is too spasmodic and cursory. Added to it is a recent tendency towards a show of imposed sobriety and saintliness which would like to see the public—to use a Shakespearean phrase—"cut in alabaster" as above these shallow frolickings of life. Imposed things always help to open channels for an outlet to license in darkness.

Hence, to return to the subject, if physical education has to be worth the name, it has to be well planned and scientific according to the natural growth of the child or the youth. Light may be thrown on the following factors in this respect: (1) consideration of the different types of exercises; (2) consideration of age in accordance with the exercises; (3) providing of suitable atmosphere for the healthy development of mind and body; and (4) providing of medical tests, health charts and curricularisation of such activity to fuse reality and life in it. Considering No. 3 again factors like—(a) organisation of institutes on the old *Gurukul* lines with emphasis on a strong and regular hostel system; (b) fostering habits of regularity, self-reliance, stable character

and humility, etc., (c) fostering activities like scouting and other social services ; (d) military training for an upright and disciplined growth of character ; and (e) provision of suitable character-building entertainments—will need earnest reflection.

Coming to the very first point, we have to take two types of exercises into consideration : (1) physique-building exercises and (2) nerve-building exercises. Games, drills and gymnastics are of the former category. And *Yogic* exercises like *Asans*, etc. are of the latter category. Some sort of effort is visible for the first type in our educational institutes, though too unscientific and cursory. But for the latter there seems to be not even the required consciousness amidst majority of our educationists.

To make these exercises scientific and systematic the second point for consideration is the growing age of the youngster. Up to the age of twelve, games and drills are sufficient. They provide a free physical development as also inculcate team spirit, self-reliance, presence of mind, quick judgment and such other fundamentals of character which should essentially take root at that stage. Different types of gymnastics can be added to the curriculum at a second stage as the youngster grows from the age of twelve to eighteen or twenty. In the college stages, *yogic* exercises

**Different
Types of
Exercises.**

**Age
Considerations.**

must form an essential part of the daily routine.* This is an accumulated experienced advice of the people who have devoted their whole life towards physical culture.

All the aforesaid would count but little if suitable atmosphere for mental and physical development of the young man is not provided. Just as knowledge is gained more outside the class room so also the body and character are formed more outside the playground or the gymnasium. A youngster forms his habits right from the early hours of morning till the time he goes to bed. Hence it should be the duty of any educational institute to see from morning to evening that the student has a well set out programme, wherein he distributes his hours of study and play in such a fashion that neither he grows to be a brooding bookworm, nor a happy-go-vagabond. It is during these hours, he can learn regularity of habits and so many other things which would go to contribute to a stable character and a clean mind in his future life. Our modern institutes pay scant regard to this factor which counts the most in character building.

For this a regularised hostel-system is of primary importance. And there our old *Gurukul* system has

* Some experts however, say that it is best to begin Yogic exercises from the age of thirteen.

much in it to guide us. *Gurukuls* always used to be away from the peace perturbing hub of town life. That was most scientific, as a healthy development of a body and mind can be better assured only in an unprejudiced free atmosphere. Then again, the entire number of students who came to read were required to lead a set life. That served well the aforesaid purpose of a youngman's development of character.

**Hostel
System.**

To elaborate on the latter, the hostel system should be such as to include the entire number of the students on roll. Different wards of manageable number of students, distributed age-wise should be arranged and supervised by old and experienced wardens, deeply interested in child welfare. These wardens should be of tested character, having passed special selection tests set out for such services. Such a hostel staff then could supervise over a prescribed day to day routine of the student, fostering habits of regularity, self-reliance, stability of character, clean living, clean thinking, humility and all the rest of those virtues which go to make of one a real man. A warden should be in short a guide, a companion and a *Guru* combined to each and every one of his charge. He should further be required to keep a 'character chart' of the students. In addition to it every hostel should have a medical advisor, not only looking after the health of the students but also to their scientific dietetics suitable for different ages. Dietetics is as important in body building as anything else. The student on the other hand should not be

allowed to escape such a hostel-life, under any normal circumstances. He should be required to yoke himself there to a type of perfect *ashram* life, learning how best to help himself.

Along with such a hostel system wisely imbibing the old *ashram* ideal of India according to the times,

Scouting and Other Social Services. activities like scouting and other social services should be fostered in the most practical way possible. It need not be repeated that it is high time now that a student inculcates a spirit of serving his society and gives it as much importance as his own pursuits of future life after keeping his body and soul together.

Military and semi-military training, like elementary courses in military education, parades and rifle shooting, etc. coupled with training in lathi and sword play no mean a part in making for the upright and disciplined character of a young man and they must essentially be given their due place in our physical education.

Last but not the least is the provision for suitable entertainments which may be educative and contribute to the general make up of the young man's character, thus set in the mould of a regular *ashram* life. Cinemas play a major role in the modern entertainments. Hence their earnest consideration should not escape any

earnest educationist's attention. To put a few suggestions in brief, up to matric, cinema-shows should be highly restricted and wisely selected. Then again, they should essentially be required to be on the site of an educational institute itself. In fact they should be the sole responsibility of such an institute.

To fuse life and reality in all the aforesaid, periodical medical tests of the students ; maintenance of regular health and character charts ; and above all curricularising of all the aforesaid health activities should not escape our attention. Without this the

**Medical Tests
and Health
Charts.** whole programme would succumb to be just a side-affair, as it is under existing conditions. Student's health

and character report should play as important a part as any of the proficiency tests or the like, spoken of above. Along with this, lessons in elementary physiology and first-aid should also be given without, of course, adding to them the examination phobia. In short the young man should be imparted with sufficient general knowledge about his natural bodily functions and how to live in consonance with them or come to their aid when necessary.

Coming to the most neglected and yet the most important aspect of our education, the world has already erred much, overlooking the young man's

development of that part of his personality which makes him human. Without that an early training going only up to the mind makes a man just a thinking brute. That is why we see now-a-days, the world over, such wise displays of what we called barbarism, for which we have despised the periods of history that we termed as barbarian. The cause of our apathy towards spiritual education was apparently our misunderstandings against religion. But those misunderstandings should not now lead us to the very doom. We cannot help wondering why even now, after realising so much of the truth of a fact, persons to be reckoned as wise and leaders of public opinion, should still go on uttering with the same fervour that, religion was to be separated from all other walks of life. They could only achieve this if they could separate the one and the most important aspect of human personality, which gives it the very right to be called human. It is high time that we realised that religions were in fact, and should be, a way of human life. Sectarian fanaticism is a fanaticism of the type where a student might foolishly assert, that his university was the only university which gave the right type of education and hence degrees from all others were bogus. Would it be wise in this context to create a prejudice against university education in entirety? The problem has to be viewed in this way. The child has to be taught to be human from the very earliest periods of his school career. And the growing youth has to, be

**Our Spiritual
Education.**

taught to know what exactly he was doing when he turned with scorn at the very utterance of the word "religion" or "God." Whether what he did was with understanding? For that, no mere teaching of the Bible as in European Mission-schools or a period of religion or moral lectures would do. A regular programme is necessary. For our purpose here, a tentative plan is pictured in the following lines :

Classes on Morals and Religion.	First of all, right from the very elementary stages of education, classes on morals and religion, have to be started as a regular curricular activity. Out of six or seven periods of study one period must essentially be devoted to such lessons.
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Secondly, suitable text-books should be prepared to teach a practical religion of morals and God-essentiality. Such text-books should begin with moral anecdotes and lives of sages, and should include their teachings with veneration, irrespective of their caste or creed or the time or place in which they existed. But it would be preferable for primary standards, that the text-books there contain teachings of the sages of local origin more, which may carry a more homely appeal to the people of the locality.

Text Books.	With the advancing classes the subject-matter of the text-book should also grow subtler and subtler to keep pace with the development of the mind.
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By the time student goes up to the higher primary standards, *i.e.*, the ninth and tenth classes—choice

may be given whether one would like to continue with the general ethical course or would like to take up a special religious study of a particular religion or a particular school of thought.

Course.

During his studies up to matric the student must essentially know full well what he understands by such basic concepts as : (1) God ; (2) Humanity ; (3) Religion ; (4) Personality and purpose of man ; (5) Place of man in the Creation ; (6) Personal morals ; (7) Social morals ; (8) Ideals of service ; (9) Truth ; (10) Justice, equality and fraternity ; (11) Non-violence as against violence ; (12) Charitability as against false charity ; (13) Liberty as against licence ; (14) Faith ; (15) Progress ; (16) True Democracy and Citizenship ; and so on—which in short may make him assimilate full well what is virtue as against vice, and how to practise it. Let him also know what is the cause of the present world wide turmoil ; how is religion just the other side of material sciences in its study of nature and how is it connected with other sciences of life ; how is it not to be confused with sectarianism ; and that sects are but schools of thought—a system of approach to the basic truth of existence. Inculcate an open-minded attitude in him in a sort of “reverential study of scriptures,” like one who really wants to know and not like one who wants to be a critic for criticism’s sake. Give him also an insight into the meaning of religious symbolism and *Yoga* as also into certain psycho-religious facts, during his advanced studies.

So much about the course and the text-books. But the third factor is again, right type of teachers, who should be well-versed in such subjects with some practical experience too. There are many people in our country well versed in religious studies who are either rotting in oblivion or indulging in most derogatory money-earning activities for economic reasons, which often effect the very dignity of religion. Such people could easily be yoked to such services, which would not only elevate their own dignity but save religion from further mockery and serve the society as a whole.

Teachers.

Fourthly, moral and spiritual tests are not to be forgotten to form a part and parcel of the general proficiency tests spoken of above.

Spiritual Tests.

Fifthly, for a practical growth of an ethical attitude, programmes of all sorts of religious festivities, like that of Shantiniketan, Bengal should be introduced.

For example, festivities like *Vasantotsava*, *Id*, "X'mas" *Navratri*, etc.

Religious Festivities.

Lectures on ethics and religion by known spiritualists could be arranged on such occasions. Students could be allowed to go home in certain longer vacations, but religious vacations should be utilised in such festivities as far as possible. Interest in practical ethics is most essential in a student which can only be best cultivated by such festivities.

Thus spiritual education is the very back-bone of a human culture. Where mental education builds up the mind, spiritual education serves to fuse the right spirit into it. For convenience we may denominate one of the three aspects of education as spiritual education. But in fact it pervades all the other aspects just as the spirit of humanism should pervade all human activity.

To throw a few concluding general suggestions with regard to education: Firstly, students' age considerations with his advancing education are of peremptory importance. A child may begin at the age of five or six for his Montessori classes. Then he may proceed through lower primary and upper primary standards until he is ready for matriculation by the age of sixteen or seventeen. Never before that should he be eligible for colleges. By the age of twenty-five he may thus finish his entire education. That is a general rule which may be followed with regard to age.

Next comes the curricular set up. In primary standards it should include (1) literary and academic courses; (2) elementary scientific courses; (3) commercial courses; (4) agricultural courses; (5) other vocational courses; and (6) artistic courses.

(2) With All of these courses should be complete by themselves up to matric. After that the student may have the choice of specialisation in any of the courses during his college-career. But his education up

to matric has to be complete in itself so that his college going can conveniently rest on his option.

Set up of girl's education is of vital consideration next. It must be typically feminine (as we may say) with courses in home-training and general welfare work, like, cooking, laundry work, needle-work, nursing, etc. But there, religious education may occupy a more important place than that prescribed for men. Our mothers must essentially be human and righteous to the very core to be able to give us the first doses in virtue and righteousness in the earliest periods of our life, most impressionable.

The fourth and the most important factor to be taken into consideration by educationists in this context is the co-ordination of applied sciences with philosophy and ethics in such a way, in the entire make up of our educational setting, that the artificial wedge which has been drawn between these two essential aspects of human knowledge is removed. It would be timely to remove the apathy between these two fields of knowledge. It is high time to realise that whereas one is an approach to the great mystery of life from outside, another is an approach from inside. And without each other coming to mutual aid the study remains incomplete. Prime Minister Nehru's own remarks are worthy of note here, when he said at a recent science Congress, at Bangalore, that he

(3) With
Regard
to Girls'
Education.

(4) With
Regard to
Co-ordination
of Applied
Sciences and
Philosophy.

regretted scientists had treated human-beings as mere objects of their studies but were not moved by the human aspect of problems affecting men. He further urged that a scientist should think of the present day human problems in terms of human philosophy, by which he meant a measure of philosophy and a measure of human approach to the problems. Even scientists have realised the fact when persons like, Arthur Koestler (a known scientist of the age) tells us : "No honest scientist can now publish a book without a metaphysical epilogue."*

So far we have considered the education of the growing men. Education of adults occupies no mean a place in the society. Rather than be academic it has to be diverted more towards cultivating the finer

* Still the scientists do not seem to leave their old rhetoric of condemning the ancient beginnings of spiritual thought, when an eminent person said at the same Science Congress at Bangalore, that the multitude and variety of the phenomena of Nature which to this day fills us with astonishment must have bewildered the primitive men and that, to gain control over them he must have invested them with anthropomorphic personality which could be influenced by entreaty and prayer. In uttering such words he seems to overlook so many factors of psychology, psychiatry and philosophy and the connected sciences of symbolism—the latter of which are in their own field like scientific formulæ. However, this is no time to widen the gulf between philosophy and science. Each of them may confine to their own limits, and refrain from throwing dirt on each other for reasons of sheer prejudice or fashion.

values of life—personal and social. That is what the modern man requires today than a mere training into mental gymnastics. The necessity of the hour is repairing of the dilapidated soul of man. To visualise a programme in brief, night classes and propaganda is the first necessity. Providing of practical vocational training centres, according to the requirements of the locality so as to make an adult well-versed in his own profession, is the second necessity. Third and the last necessity is a regular staff of social workers, organised out of youths coming out of the Universities, educated on lines conceived of above. Such youths would have been so educated as to consider it their proud privilege to serve their illiterate brethren.

Drifting to the education of the mass mind now, propaganda and social entertainments play an important role here. Human mind is very much out of its guard when it relaxes to be at ease. And it is at such most oblivious hours of life that impressions carried through an entertainment stamp their mark on the sub-conscious which may change the very course and outlook of one's life. An intelligent state or social order should never forget that plausibly insignificant hour. Apart from all other types of entertainments and propaganda, cinema and the screen play the most important part in the present day society. The wisest of oratories may not convey its message as deeply to the masses as any ordinary anecdote on

the screen. Instances are not lacking when crime has increased in countries due to wrong type of films. If any Government is in right earnest about the morale of the masses it can ill-afford to overlook this single factor of modern social life which exerts such a dynamic influence on the mass-mind.

Mere censor-board restrictions fall too short of the purpose. If there is any necessity of immediate nationalisation anywhere, I would boldly go to suggest, it is here. It is not a mere
Reform entertainment but a field of education
Film-Industry. for the mass mind at a most unguarded hour of it, psychologically. Leaving the film industry to private enterprise means production of cheap films with an economic point of view only. Even if a film company any time attempts to produce a standard picture, it is only at the risk of a possible loss which may mean its very liquidation. State would not be worried on that score and could concentrate on films which may raise the mass-morale. That will go a great way towards the rejuvenation of a social order which has fallen so low.

Here, while talking about nationalisation, one should never lose sight of the natural human psychology with respect to property and profit. These two are necessary evils to all human activity. Only the thing to be guarded against by the State, is that these evils do not overlap their limits. With this very point of view, the State may proceed to nationalise the film industry by adopting a middle

course. A few such industries may be selected and aided by the Government for the purpose. They should then be required to be up to the mark required by the Government. Licences of all other such unaided industries may then be cancelled, if they cannot afford to be up to the mark. Such a course would firstly, save the State from a sudden burden of such a nationalisation. Secondly, it would also allow reasonable attitude to private incentive.

Next step in this direction should be to classify the film production into categories like : (1) mythological ; (2) ethical, ;(3) historical ; (4) social ; (5) academic, and (6) educational and informative. Plots and subjects also should always be worked out by a special staff advised and guided by Universities.

Cinema control by the State on right lines is as much a necessity of the hour as any other social reconstruction programme. People talking about nationalisation of the public utility services should never forget to give this similar service its due place in their consideration.

Last of all comes the consideration of that part of perverted humanity which has forfeited its right to personal liberty and freedom by its crimes against society and are doomed periodically or permanently to the "four walls" of the prison. Mere punishment and periodical confinement only serve in hardening the nerves of the condemned and accentuate their frustration, both contributing to make of them

Education
of the
Perverted.

greater criminals on return from jails. Thus the purpose of punishment is only lost.

What is required is a psychological study in the causes of the crimes. A crime might have been committed for economic reasons in an helpless state. Or it might have resulted out of sheer frustration. It could again, have been committed out of some passion or hatred (*e.g.* revenge) or it could also be just a manifestation of a pathological defect of mind ; or a bad habit even. It could also be a crime committed by a gangster or a revolutionary working under an impulse of a false conception of life, thus to impose upon the State or the society his own ideology.

Crime and Punishment. (How-so-ever liberal such an ideology may be it loses its colour by such a wrong method of approach.) Thus all such causes need be properly examined by a college of psychologists—specially appointed by the Government for its “Criminal Branch”—after a sentence has been passed by a court of law. It may be added here that such a psychological examination is necessary in a capital punishment case more than anywhere else, before a sentence is passed, so that the judge is *genuinely guided before breaking his pen*. On submission of a report of such a college of psychiatrists a programme of a particular type of criminal’s reform should be chalked out during the term of his serving the sentence.

Prisons are thus places, where the defects having escaped correction during school-education can be corrected. They should not be centres of State retri-

bution. They have to be conceived of as institutes for removing the perversion of a perverted humanity. And in an all out effort towards the reformation of a society this factor cannot be missed. Prison reforms

Prison Reforms. are necessary and a regular schooling programme into, subjects like, moral ethics, handicrafts, cottage industries, and even arts and literature, should be taken up by the State in right earnest. Alongside a sympathetic close study into a criminal's moral development should be followed. Religious lectures should be organised from time to time and special night classes for those who are illiterate. Pathological mental treatment should also be given if that is necessary. In short, the ideal should be to bring out the prisoner a perfectly rejuvenated individual, morally, socially and even bodily. Whatever found to be lacking in his personality should be tried to be replaced. Here it may also be added that prisoners who are required to do manual work should have limited hours in view of the above programme and must be remunerated. Much more elaborate a discussion on prison reforms is not possible here due to space limitations.

However, with prison reforms completes our picture of social reconstruction. To conclude on the whole, right type of education of the child, of the adult, of the masses and of the criminal lastly, is the only lasting—though a long term remedy to help repair the dilapidated soul of the present day humanity much in turmoil due to its own disease. Then only a lasting peace can be assured.

V

THE IMMEDIATE REMEDY

IN contemplating over a scheme of immediate remedy for the present socio-political cancer which threatens to shake the very foundations of our human society—and particularly with regard to India, to devour the newly acquired freedom—we have to consider how far our newly established democracy carries a brightening hope for the very lowest stratum of our society, the down-trodden masses. We have to examine how far is the professed faith of our established democrats so often repeated with exuberance in the following words: “Government of the people, by the people and for the people”—translated into effect. The aforesaid axiom at once brings us face to face with its three implications. “Government of the people” means the type of election machinery provided to ensure the voice of the people to be ever present unpolluted in the portals of our legislatures. “Government by the people” means a system of governance, whereby the will of the people is allowed to prevail unimpeded by personal ideologies or party politics. And lastly, “Government for the people” means the type of policies adopted, which may always guide or advise that “will” of the people in a right and humane direction. Thus we have to assess all these three aspects in the light of present circumstances.

Coming to the very first, how far our election system falls too short of the ideal has been pretty elaborately pictured in the very first chapter. It is much too intriguing and urbanised for that simple illiterate voter of the rural areas and hardly provides him with a chance to exert a conscious vote, though it fulfils well enough the formality of adult franchise. Thus it touches the masses in general very superficially and only formally. Even then its heavy machinery imposes over the government much heavier financial liability. The result is, virtually, it boils down to a democracy of the linguistically proficient and the rich few, positively pretty well placed in life at least to worry about two square meals a day.

Illiteracy is a lame excuse to its effectivity. And if the factor of illiteracy weighed so heavily on our minds, why was the show of adult franchise plausibly put up at this stage? Furthermore, does literacy mean just linguistic proficiency? Every man has enough commonsense to organise himself. Literacy in the modern sense has its roots in fact in the illiterate aboriginal predecessors of the present human race. And even today many an aboriginal has been found to have a perfect social organisation by ethnologists. Thus it is not so much a matter of illiteracy as that of lack of opportunity in the effectivity of our existing election systems.

The very first principle of a democratic election system should be that it not only rests content with

adult franchise but also ensures a conscious vote to the voter. For that our village Panchayat system of

old could give us a helping hand.

**Rural
Elections.**

Every village or a village unit of say two thousand souls may elect a manageable body of a village panchayat. Such panchayats in their own turn may become the electoral colleges returning one member each to a *Tehsil* or *Halka* Panchayat. And this sort of system may be continued to form respectively sub-divisional-panchayats and district-panchayats, the latter of which may be synonymous with the present District Boards. The system may further be continued to form Divisional-Boards on the same lines as District-Boards. And the former may in their own turn return members to the provincial or States' legislative assemblies and the Central Lower House on their respective population basis*—so fixed as to ensure a proportional rural representation in both the legislatures of the States and the Centre.

This is an indirect election system, wherein only the rural side comes into the picture. To take the

* Such a divisional-board, for example, could send one or two or more members, according to a certain population basis to the House of people and the States' Assemblies, as the case may be—in accordance with the Provisions under Articles 81 (1) (b) for the former and 170 (2) for the latter, with slight modifications as may be required.

urban side now, the labourer, the craftsman, the trader-on-the-street and the business magnate, the lawyer, the middle-class man and last but not the least the educationist, at once rush up in a huddled way one over the other on our mental screen. Different city guilds or associations should be formed of the aforesaid interests, excepting the industrial labourer and the educationist. These guilds or associations should form to be the electoral colleges to the respective Municipal Boards, having wider administrative functions than the present ones. Such Municipal Boards of a certain constituency may combine in their own turn* to return a representative to the Provincial or States' assemblies and similarly to the Central Lower House.

For industrial labour, guilds or associations should be formed industry-wise.† And like the rural panchayats they may proceed to elect a city guild to begin with, then, what may be termed as, a District

* For such Municipal Boards too, the same criterion as above could be adopted with respect to returning members to different legislatures with necessary modifications again according to particular requirements.

*Note :—*By the use of the term "modifications" in these foot-notes is meant such modifications to the provisions of the Indian Constitution as may work on a population basis which may ensure a proportionate representation to all the three electoral bodies concerned for the legislatures of the States or the Centre.

† Here, any large scale industry even in rural areas shall have to be considered Urban.

Industrial Labourers' Association; and then further a Divisional-Industrial-Labourers' Association. Such Divisional Industrial Labourers' Associations may again, on a certain population basis* return members to the States' assemblies and the Central House of People, as the case may be.

**Industrial
Labour
Elections.**

It may be added here, that vacancies caused in all the aforesaid organisations while returning members to their respective superior counterparts may be filled up by a simple process of nomination by the organisation concerned itself. Such a nomination will not necessarily be from anywhere outside the constituency of a particular organisation. And hence it could not be considered undemocratic, as it would necessarily be a nomination by an already elected body of a constituency. It would further save the botheration of a re-election.

**Filling of
Vacancies.**

In this way the Lower Houses of the States and the Centre will have been constituted. Here it is more feasible to divide these Lower Houses of the different States, into two divisions—one to be known as the "Rural Block" and the other as "Urban Block." This is conceived for the particular con-

**Bicameral
Lower Houses
in the States.**

* The same as for Divisional Boards or Municipal Boards.

ditions of India where rural problems dominate and yet they are manipulated by the artistry of the urban representatives to the latter's own advantage. This is one of the basic causes of the present day mal-adjustment of the country's economy. It has already been stressed elsewhere during the course of our discussions that the rural side is essentially the productive side of any country's economy as against the predominantly consumer's side represented by the urban areas. Hence if the rural representation in the legislatures is allowed to be lost in the urban dingo, it essentially goes to effect the production side and that too, to the ultimate disadvantage of the consumer. Examples* are many to this effect and every sane thinking person knows them well enough to his utter remorse. It is for this reason

* For example, the keennes of the Centre, in spite of many an advice to the contrary, to fix agricultural labour rates as early as possible. Here while the Government does not seem to be quite in a position to revise the prevailing low procurement rates because they are apprehensive that it may perturb their entire planning towards this end; they seem to be quite convinced of the advisability of fixing the agricultural labour rates without regard to the fact that with the prevailing procurement rates the poor agriculturist would only be jammed to utter misery between the high labour rates and low procurement prices offered. Furthermore, under such circumstances the agricultural labour will find itself in the clutches of unemployment under such a false charity, and it will form to be another problem added to the list of the Government-difficulties. In addition, it would not be surprising if an unprecedented wave of strikes sweeps over the essentially productive side of our country's economy in the rural areas.

that such a bi-cameral Lower House, is advisable. The functions of such bi-cameral Lower Houses will be dealt with later which will make the efficacy of such a plan more explicit to the reader.

Coming to the Upper Houses of the Centre or of those States where they exist, the same criterion as adopted by the Indian Constitution under the Sections 80 and 171, could be adopted as a guiding principle in their formation.* The educational profession, left out before, could have a chance here—for the Centre under Sections 30 (3) and (4) of the Indian Constitution and for the States under Sections 171 (3) (b) and (c) and (5). The members of such professions, should of course have no bar, however to their getting into the Lower Houses too if they so desire by flanking in with the other urban middle classes mentioned above. Here Universities too will have a chance of electing their own representatives.

Leaving aside other constitutional details for the better judgment of constitution lawyers, it is necessary to deal briefly here with the duration of the Houses of Parliament and States' Legislatures along with their electorates right from the bottom. Suffice it to be said for the States' or Central Legislatures that the system provided in our Constitution

* In view of the election system contemplated here, in the preceding paragraphs, Sub-clause (3) (a) of section 171 of the Indian Constitution may become irrelevant and might require to be deleted or drastically altered and amended.

under Section 83 and 172 is alright in this respect. But in view of it, electoral bodies from village panchayats to the Divisional-Boards on the rural side, and such bodies from the lowest unit to Municipal Boards and Divisional Industrial Labourers' Associations on the urban side (all as described above) should essentially have a life-time of not less than two years. Any time shorter than that should essentially affect the stability of work, which may be entrusted to such organisations. Here it should be mentioned that those of the Members of the Central Parliament or other legislatures, whose original electorates are under a term of re-election will not be put to a vote again at their original constituency during the life tenure of their own particular House, but would be automatically reckoned as re-elected at their place of origin, unless their original constituency concerned itself passes a vote of no-confidence by a majority of two-thirds. In the latter case of course, such members will have to lose their seats wherever concerned to give place to others in their stead. This will serve a double purpose. It will firstly give a bit of permanency and stability of tenure to the members of the top legislative bodies, which would not entirely leave them at the whim and caprice of their original electorates. Secondly, it will side by side give their electors a power to recall if they lose their head in the intoxication of power. It is a sort of two yearly test of popularity and a reminder to a member once elected that his roots of power and

prestige are essentially there wherefrom he comes to his august place.

Last but not the least is the factor of payment of allowances and other emoluments to the members of the Parliament or the States' Legislatures. Here

Payments. it is suggested that these payments should essentially be charged from their respective original district constituencies directly and not from the Central funds. And the elected bodies of such constituencies themselves should have the power to fix such emoluments according to a criterion which may be fixed by the Parliament.

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In dealing with governance now, we have to consider the type of governmental machinery or government and the functions of different governmental organisations set up under it. Our present Government is of a federal type with a very strong Centre. If we have a bird's eye-view

Governance. of the history of human governance, we find we begin with family plutarchs, developing into community-states and Greek city-states, and as time passed on still further developing into small kingdoms and republics and ultimately into Empires even. As a protection against such mighty empires a new conception of confederacies arose in the political arena. Thus just as units of control became larger, the individual began to suffer more neglect. And that was where the modern idea of democracy found its first germination. One man's control was

decentralised into the sharing of that control by elected representatives of all those meant to be controlled. For smaller units one such body of elected representatives was sufficient. But larger areas with diverse circumstances, which might have been empires or confederations one day, gave birth to a federal system of governance. The Central idea behind such a move, in this era of democracies, was decentralisation as far as possible to such an extent and in such a form that every member of a democracy was well governed and not neglected under the sheer vastness of a widely spread out unit of control. That is where and how the modern democratic conception of "good of the greatest number" comes into vogue.

But here, if we examine actual facts today we find just an elected hierarchy replacing kingship with no proper decentralisation of governmental control. And this only goes to make for us a picture of a sort of hydra-headed kingship, with empty professions to "popular support" and "service of the people." It may not be forgotten that the kings of old made similar professions. They too said that they were the servants of the people and if they were autocrats they were benevolent for that matter. To take a practical example of today, the dissatisfaction of the people of what have now been termed as "B" class States in our country, is just due to the fact that they are only seeing a hydra-headed Maharaja in place of a single headed one of old. Their dilemma further is that if the previous one frowned

it was only one head for that matter but now so many together.

Hence the *Ram Raj* ideal of Gandhiji and the immediate necessity of a decentralised polity. Any one who genuinely believes in the efficacy of the ideal should lose no time in invoking support of Section 40* of our Constitution and should not only demand that much but more on that score. A brief conception is drawn in the paragraphs to follow of such a division of governmental functions amongst different political organisations, described above, as may foster this ideal.

**Decentralised
Policy.**

ideal should lose no time in invoking support of Section 40* of our Constitution and should not only demand

The smallest unit on the rural side is village Panchayat. These village Panchayats should form to be consultative bodies to begin with in all revenue or other pertinent matters of their respective villages, to the *Halka* or *Tahsil* Panchayats. In addition, they should also serve their respective village communities as multi-co-operative societies looking after all the agricultural and other economic activities of their villages concerned. Minor revenue matters and rural development schemes of the locality should also be entrusted to them, of course under the guidance and directions of *Tahsil* or *Halka* Panchayats. They should further be made *via-medias* for land revenue collections. In short,

**Village
Panchayats'
Functions.**

all revenue or other pertinent matters of their respective villages, to the *Halka* or *Tahsil* Panchayats. In addition, they should also serve their

* See Appendix II.

they should gradually be trained to rise to a level of perfect village-self-government.

The Tahsil Panchayats, then, should form to be bodies sharing with the Tahildar all his functions* and should also serve as judicial benches attached to the Magistrates of their respective areas.

Tahsil or Halka Panchayat's and Sub-Divisional Panchayats' Functions. A Magistrate of an area may either be one of the elected Panchas or any body approved by them even from outside. The Sub-Divisional-Panchayats then, should similarly share the functions of a S.D.O.; and a similar procedure as with

Tahsil Panchayats may be repeated with regard to the appointment of Sub-Divisional Magistrates.†

District Boards are already well in existence and their functions stand crystal clear. Only with the new creation of Divisional Boards it needs to be

District Boards and Divisional Boards. clarified that the former will have to be subordinated to these new Boards. These new Boards, in addition to appellate and supervisional powers over

the former, could also officially suggest amendments and alterations to the existing District-

* These organisations in the initial stages will of course have to share their functions with a revenue officer, but that as equals and not as subordinates, until they can stand on their own legs to require spoon-feeding.

† Many Panchayat laws and acts have already been promulgated in different States of recently but they seem to require radical changes in view of practicability and in view of the fact that they have not been viewed as connecting links of governance right up to the Centre, as visualised in the scheme under discussion.

Board rules or other Panchayat rules of their area, to their respective local governments. They could also suggest fresh laws and rules, pertaining to rural development and land reforms. Powers of transfer and suspension of minor revenue officers, below the grade of S.D.Os., could also be vested with them, subject to confirmation by the Divisional Commissioners concerned.

Coming to the urban side, the Municipal Boards have already got well defined functions to be dealt with separately. Only a few more administrative powers in tune with such a changed set up need to be added to them.*

Coming to Industrial Labour Organisations, from top to bottom : The individual Factory Industrial Labour Associations (or I.L.As.) could form to be the advisory bodies to their respective factory managements. The City I.L.As. then could look to the all round labour welfare work of their respective areas—work like, health, education, recreation, morals, food and cloth requirements, and good living conditions of the labourers. Further, they could

* Announcing the democratisation of the administrations of part "C" States on Friday, March 16th, the Government of India said for Delhi, that there were to be two Municipal Corporations, for Old and New Delhi, and under the Chief Commissioner in Council they were to have the widest possible municipal powers. That could provide (for our purpose here) as a guiding principle to all other Municipal Boards, visualised under the scheme in question.

also, as a rule, have a standing representation on the local labour-arbitration-Boards. The District and Divisional I.L.As. could also suggest fresh labour reforms or amendments and alterations to the existing labour laws of their area to the Central or States' legislatures, as the case may be, through their Labour Commissioners concerned. Powers of supervision and arbitration over their lower counterparts could of course be theirs, in addition.

Coming to the Bi-cameral Lower Houses of the States : List II and List III of the seventh schedule of our Constitution will serve as the most convenient

<p>Functions of Bicamera Lower Houses.</p>	<p>basis for the distribution of functions of the two sections of these Houses.* Thus, Entries 1, 2, 4, 6 to 12, 22, 26 to 29, 32 to 44, 51, 52 and 58 to 66 in List II ; and all the Entries of List III except 24 to 26 and 36 and 37 should be subjects on which both the sections of the Legislative Assembly of a State (<i>i.e.</i>, the Rural and the Urban Blocks) will sit together to legislate. Bills regarding subjects falling under Entries 14 to 21, 23, 30, 45 to 48, 50 and 56 of the List II should originate from the Rural Block ; and may or may not be referred to the Urban Block. After it has been passed from there it should directly go to the Legislative Council and further on, according to the procedure set in the Constitution. Similar should be the procedure of subjects falling under Entries 24, 25, 31, 49, 53 to 55 and 57 of the</p>
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* Those interested in details may see Appendix III.

List II and 24 to 26, 36 and 37 of List III, with respect to the Urban Block. With respect to subjects falling under Entries 3, 5 and 13 of the List II, they should be separated, according to this plan into rural and urban subjects and dealt with accordingly. And lastly, regarding the Entry 6, the subjects therein are such which have to be repeated both as rural and urban subjects, for our purpose. The main point in such a separation is that urban people may not unnecessarily confound rural problems with their own and *vice versa*.

Here it must be added that there should be no bar to any Bill of such category as may be the subject of legislation for the combined sitting of both the Blocks of a State Legislative Assembly, to originate from a Legislative Council of such a State. Money Bills may of course originate from the Assembly according to the provisions of the Constitution with a combined sitting of both the Blocks.

Nothing new may be added to the procedure and functions of the Central Parliament, in addition to what is contained in the Constitution.

Coming to the formation of the Central Cabinet ultimately, we may well be reminded of the words of that American Economist, Vogt (whom we have already quoted in the second chapter) "Our Law-Makers are trained for the most part as Lawyers,

and know as little of biophysical law as the average biologist does of Corporation Law." Similar are the free-lance politicians of our own country, rising to ministerial levels, who are more often than not equally ignorant of many technical items of their charge. Such Ministers (with all due apologies to them), indulge in activities either from a point of view of Press popularity or under an impulse of a shiny ideology. Both are often grossly divorced from realities and people have to suffer as a result. Sometimes ministries are led away by such party-politics as would prove to be utterly baneful to the interest of the masses in general. To guard against all such defects, it is quite all right to follow the democratic convention of calling the leader of the majority party to form the ministry and become the Prime Minister himself; but thereafter he should be left free to choose his colleagues to such technical or vital posts, as ministries of agriculture, finance, industry, works, mines and power and other highly scientific subjects, from even out of the membership of the Parliament, like the President of America freely choosing his secretaries of State. The qualifications to such Ministers may, of course, be provided by parliamentary enactments from time to time, so as to guide the Prime Minister to make an appropriate selection to such a post. Such a Minister, chosen from outside the Parliament, could also, if thought desirable, be co-opted to the membership of the Council of the State. Education then is another subject, which cannot be treated as

**Cabinet
Formation.**

a side affair at all by any State. And there, it is suggested that the minister may be elected by all the Universities of the country combined, of course not from outside the existing membership of any House of the Parliament. Ministers other than the aforesaid may then come in their ordinary course according to the prevalent system.

Every minister of the Cabinet then should have an advisory council of three to five members, who may be men of experience having ample technical knowledge of their subject. Such members should be nominated for the purpose by the Parliament in consultation with the Prime Minister.

**Ministerial
Business.**

A Minister of State should then be convention bound not to introduce a new Bill or scheme in Parliament unless it has been properly examined by such a council. What we mean is, all the functions of a Ministry should be well advised by its advisory council concerned. After all matters of State are matters of public much more and hence should not be ill-conceived or spasmodic, or made a play thing of ideologists.

The same may be repeated lastly, for the Cabinets of the different States of the Union with regard to their formation and functions.

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Having thus conceived of a system of governance in brief, conception of a right type of policy will be the very back-bone of such a governance. It is

really a tragedy of the human race that it should always be led by a mob-mentality in **Policy.** spite of all professions to the country or even to wisdom. A current of thought seems to sweep the whole race at a certain time and place, gaining momentum from some oblivious source of human grievance, which could otherwise have been remedied without so much ado. And everybody seems to be so completely led away by it without time or reason that even those who might be feeling the other way round seldom find enough courage to oppose the common-run of thought at the risk of their so called established repute. Truth thus seems sacrificed at the anvil of a dignified rowdyism. It is a tragedy of the civilisation of our day that our governmental policies of import should run victims to such a human psychology. That is why we see much rot creeping into our society instead of real reform and rejuvenation.

Free from all pride and prejudice if we really profess to uphold a democratic system in right earnest we have to carefully guard against undemocratic policies dictated by hooliganism and power politics. A democratic policy does not mean we should say "yes," rightly or wrongly, when all others desire us to say "yes." It would just be stooping to a sort of mob-flattery, for selfish ends. That is not selfless service. A democratic policy is that which guides the people to say and believe what is essentially right and also to teach them to behave in that way. No considerations of popularity or losing of the post

should prejudice it. In short, democracy is not so much in a form of government as in the type of policy which has essentially the good of the largest number at heart. Good of the largest number is in peace. Peace is a condition of happiness. And happiness is contained in the three basic rules of life—Truth, Beauty and Goodness. To deal with them separately would be making the subject in hand a philosophic treatise. Suffice it to be said here however, that they are the reflections of the threefold human personality already dealt with at length previously. A democratic policy would always aim and genuinely act towards the fullest development of that threefold personality. And that is what is meant by *Ram Raj* of Gandhiji. Such a policy requires an honest calculation of existing social conditions combined with a strength of character on the part of policy-makers.

It should be remembered that, there are no short cuts to success. Without imposing an idealistic utopia on people many a draw-back in the society has to be cleverly condoned and considered. Rome was not built in a day, as the saying goes. And with this context the following stand to test in our particular background—our policies with regard to : (1) land ; (2) industries ; (3) culture ; (4) foreign affairs ; (5) defence and (6) certain other human problems.

Coming to our policies with regard to land, four factors at once assume a conspicuous position in our

mind : (a) villagism and self-sufficiency ; (b) land laws and the principle of peasant proprietorship ; (c) co-ordination of our development programmes ; and (d) question of intermediaries in land.

India is predominantly rural. A rural economy, a rural culture and a rural way of life are our country's heritage from the hoariest past. Village may be rightly assumed to be the very pivot centre of its culture. And there, one may rightly wonder whether it is not a fact the world over—whether the village is not only the productive centre of any country's basic requirements of food but also of all the finer values of life which go to make a human culture. Human life and culture is found there in its unpolluted simplicity. Hence an economy based on the village is the only way to find relief out of this mad rush of events brought about by over-centralisation. Every village has to be organised on a self-sufficient basis. Combined with a decentralised village polity, as conceived of above, encouragement of cottage industries and management by the villager of his own economy on the lines of self-sufficiency is the need of the hour. Our village economy was essentially a self-sufficient economy. There existed such a system of self-help and all round production of raw materials locally guided by convention and practice, and aided by village artisans that wellnigh all the basic needs of the area were met without difficulty. That very system of old could be re-examined and reset in the

modern set-up, the surplus areas helping the deficit areas and combining to help the cities in providing them food and raw materials. If the government should take this up in right earnest there is every reason to believe that so much of food and other raw materials wasted and going under the dark cellars of the black-market could remain out for the proper use of men. Compulsory procurement policies and governmental controls may better give way to such a spontaneous system. Much of the country's import could also be relieved. And with self-confidence the village producer could indulge in an effective "grow more food" campaign, as he would rest assured then that he is the virtual manager of his own economy and the helper of his own village requirements. He will gladly toil with a labour of love and a healthy competitive spirit, and would not allow his village to depend on the help of any outside agency for his daily necessities of life as far as possible. With zest he will work and will even learn to refrain from the corrupting influence of the city products. The Government also could then easily decide upon realising rents from him in kind through multi-purpose co-operative societies. And for his agricultural tools and other technical needs the governments could come to his aid through such societies. Grain thus realised in kind from the villager, as land revenue or as surplus, could then be diverted to meet other needs of the country. Thus gradually a complete programme of village-self-government and self-sufficiency could be set afoot, if the government

would only put their heart and soul to it. For such a self-help or sufficiency programme the government should even go so far as to own estates for a direct experiment, or indirectly make large estate-holders to implement such experiments. Just as there are government model-farms today we may also thus have government-model-estates for village self-sufficiency programmes. Moreover in such a programme all that extra crop of technicians and recruits, coming out of our Universities, could also easily be diverted and absorbed towards such social services. Much of country's unemployment and job-hunting could in this way find a suitable remedy.

Coming to the second point: nothing has been so much misconstrued and mishandled as our policies towards land reforms. Our British masters of yore set certain patterns in this respect which were essentially

**Land Reforms
and Peasant
Proprietorship.** western and aimed at sucking away our products to the hub of five thousand miles away Lancashire Mills. Without giving a second thought, we seem to be quite satisfied to follow the same patterns to the utter misfortune of our landed systems. The main purpose of the Britishers' tenancy laws was to insure their governmental revenues and for that they provided whatever stability of tenure was necessary. In addition they had a political purpose. Firstly, they drew a wedge between the landlord and the tenant—the two wheels of our landed system—by protecting them separately and creating between them conflicting feelings of the exploiters and the exploited. Secondly,

they aimed at destroying the peculiar self-sufficient structure of our rural economy, the main factors of which were the Panchayats and certain wise customs and usages of old. The Panchayat was replaced by a system of strong revenue bureaucracy and revenue courts, which further helped them strengthen and extend their imperialistic hold to the remotest parts of India. The net result of all that today is our muddled up land system. Hence if we just go on following the same patterns we may only help in confounding the confusion still further. Land legislations need now a radically renovated outlook. The Governments concerned have to set certain guiding principles with regard to them. And for that the following trends of thought may serve best to be examined as to whether they could serve the purpose.

(1) That all land legislations have to aim at reviving the village self-government ideal combined with the economic self-sufficiency programme.

(2) That they have to evolve a scientific cropping system to check cash crops at the expense of food-crops.

(3) That they have to renovate the conception of a *Patwari* or a *Girdawar* or a *Kanungo* from being a revenue-officer to a production-officer—helping the village communes in matters of statistics with regard to the varying productivity per acre of a holder of land.

(4) That (in view of No. 3 above) they have to empower the village communes to take appropriate

action against such holders of land who are guilty of a gross misuse of their holding, with a resultant decreasing productivity per acre of their land.

(5) That they have to evolve a scientific system of multi-purpose co-operative societies which would help the cultivator in all his essential needs of life. And that through such societies alone the government has to realise revenues in kind.

(6) That lastly, peasant proprietorship is accepted as an essential conditions to an era of agricultural progress in India and that it is not sacrificed at the altar of ideologies, like socialisation of farming, etc. An Indian peasant cannot conceive of a life without the feeling of ownership and that must be given due regard.

Principles enumerated above thus could serve better as guiding principles to our land legislations than the patent method of following a course whereby the peasant only finds himself ruinously under the heels of legal practitioners or revenue bureaucrats.

Lack of co-ordination of our development programmes is the next point to be discussed and that is today a common complaint of any thinking animal on the street. Planning is the first and last thing which goes to make for the success or failure of any project. But in their over enthusiasm for an all-round development of the country at an early date so as to make it strong and self-sufficient the govern-

ment seem to be on the horns of a three pronged dilemma. The schemes of "grow more food," "afforestation" and industrialisation" seem to so overcrowd the Government's mind that they are well-nigh over-lapping each other. For example, when a textile-mill or any other mill crops up anew at a place which is predominantly agricultural it distracts the agricultural labour of the place and encourages cash-crops suited for such a mill, in place of food-crops. Thus so much of food-crop-area is automatically sacrificed at the altar of the particular industry. Hence only such areas as are entirely unsuited for agriculture should be exploited for fresh industrialisation. Another example could be of the forests, which are sometimes put to the saw under a zeal of settling the displaced and bringing fresh acreage under the plough. The dwindling forests are already staring hard in the very face of our country's economy, pleading for immediate remedy. When we can find much lazy acreage outside forests and when forests take much too long to be replenished, why should we cut down the already well developed ones?

In short, there is no proper co-ordination in planning. If anyone were to take courage to find a suitable answer to any one of these problems his query would meet the fate of an amusing game of football between so many ministries—right from the ministry of agriculture to, industries, home affairs and even finance. The very first task therefore before the governments concerned—either at the

Centre or of the States—is either creating of a single ministry for all the three aforesaid development programmes, or else creating of an all-round Development Board, as a second alternative, to advise all such ministries and even the Cabinet. And the advice of such a Board should be given a proper weightage. This could help narrowing the departmental gulf to a great extent. The second task is of setting certain definite guiding principles for our planning programmes. And for that the following ideologies may well serve to be examined :

(1) That heavy industrialisation is planned only where agriculture has little or negligible scope of development due to the peculiar geographic conditions of a place.

(2) That in such areas where agriculture has a natural scope of development all schemes of development to that end alone are given predominance and the first chance.

(3) That cropping regulations and measures for intensive cultivation in areas already cultivated, are given the best attention.

(4) That large scale irrigation projects, involving heavy finances and much technological jugglery are only favoured secondary to smaller and more practicable irrigation projects, advised by village communes.

(5) That already well developed forests are not sacrificed at the altar of “grow more food” craze. And lastly,

(6) That programmes, by a well set out psychological propaganda are set afoot, which may create a consciousness amongst people towards the importance of vegetation and preservation of animal life in the country—both dwindling fast under the heavy toll taken by the greedy wood-cutter's saw and the unscrupulous Shikari's rifle.*

Last of all but the most vital to consider with regard to our landed problems, comes the question of the intermediaries in land. Intermediaries came into picture as a necessary evil to land management (even if it be said so), either by direct action of a government or by historical circumstance. It is a world wide fact. It is therefore a misconception to believe simply with one stroke of thought that the British

Problem of Intermediaries.

* During the course of our discussion in this book Vogt and Osborn have been now and again referred to, as saying—and many more land experts are of the same opinion today—that animal and plant life are of no less importance in contributing towards the prosperity of our land. In close contrast to such expert opinion we may also view the side which tries to translate such opinions into practice in our country. On close scrutiny of facts one can easily find administrative orders which in one moment order preservation of animals to the Forests Department concerned; and on the other hand order a complete annihilation of animal life, excited at a superfluous complaint regarding destruction of crops, etc. Proper enquiry and expert guidance is found completely lacking in the promulgation of such orders, which may apparently be not of much import, but really of vital importance when we come to view them as meaning so much towards the use or misuse of our essential natural assets irreplaceable for centuries to come.

were responsible for creating this class in our country. Generally what is understood by this class is the landed aristocracy. But the class of landed bureaucracy cannot be excluded from it. The former are evolutes of a feudal age. The latter are, on the other hand, evolutes of a western type of landed system, chiselled and shaped by Britishers in India in a style which suited their purpose the best. Before rushing into any fleecy ideology our government should do good to find an answer to the following questions :

(1) Whether they want to do away with intermediaries of all types or whether they think bureaucrats to be safer in that respect ?

(2) Whether they would be able to do without intermediaries and if not (which seems positive) whether they have thought out an alternative system which may well fill up the vacaney without leaving the actual tiller of land to suffer under an unfortunate interim ?

(3) Whether they are convinced to the urgency of the matter to such an extent that they can find ample time and energy to be spared from the country's gaping needs of the hour like, food, cloth and defence ?

(4) Whether in their conception such an ideological change-over occupies, much higher a place in a peasant's mind than stability of tenure and a security of his daily needs of life which may leave him unhampered as at every step by a civilisation of controls ?

(5) Whether it would not give the peasant more practical a relief if he were allowed to direct his

own rural destinies through peasants' Panchayats to which all types of intermediaries or vested interests in land could be subordinated ?

(6) Whether such an organisation of peasants' Panchayats would not be the most suitable, even if an interim arrangement, towards which government could divert that extra amount of energy which they probably find after serving the problems of food, cloth and defence ?

(7) Whether then, elimination or adjustment of the intermediaries could not be safely left over to be tackled individually and separately on the opinion obtained from such Panchayats when and if the latter may so desire at a certain stage according to a set formula of compensation ?

Next in importance to the land problem is our industrial problem. We have our neck hard tied to an industrial civilisation of the western brand. Hence we can afford to side-track or idealise the issue at at the expense of facts, only at our own peril. We must solve the labour-capital dispute intelligently, and proceed with nationalisation programmes after a proper assessment of facts. These programmes have to be more realistic and adopt a middle course. Without killing private incentive the government may, in the first instance, adopt a system of giving aids and grants or buying large amount of shares in such industries as involve greater national or social interests and risks as against personal. Big industries then, in the

**Industrial
Policy.**

second instance may be brought under a combined control of the capitalist, the labourer and the government; and a certain type of *Administrative Boards* may be brought into the field, consisting of all the three aforesaid interests, to manage individual industries. Last of all, the labourer may be allowed to get a reasonable share of profit. These are the three *via medias* to the problem which might narrow the differences between the labourer and the capitalist and may also partially serve the purpose of nationalisation.

Coming to our cultural policies: we have lost so much of our essential culture of day to day life under degeneration wrought about by centuries of foreign rule that even our essential heritage needs to be re-placed not to speak of that part of human feeling which we have lost in common with the rest of the world. The preamble to the UNESCO constitution says that "since wars begin in the minds of men it is in the minds of men that defences of peace must be constructed." Education is the blue-print to a future civilisation and culture. But if education is only to make us linguistically proficient, there begins to appear sense in the utterance of some of the modern wise, that an illiterate could be more cultured some times than a literate. Real education is that which makes us cultured only through a proper culturing of the three aspects of our personality contained in our mind, body and spirit. In this light our educational

**Cultural
Policies.**

programmes have to be developed, whether they be for the growing man, the grown up, or the man behind the bars. Though the subject has already been treated at length, it would be best to recapitulate the following salient points which could best be examined for chalking out a new educational policy :

(1) That educational institutes right up to the University level have essentially to be away from the corrupting influences of urban life, so as to allow a free and unprejudiced development of a budding mind, ready for self-culture.

(2) That the teachers themselves are required to come out of a course of special training, or selected by a special Board for the purpose, so as to insure that they would provide an exemplary character for the pupils under their charge and that child-welfare is genuinely their interest of life.

(3) That every educational institute provides a model *ashram* life where the teacher and the taught completely identify themselves with each other and the taught receives the closest sympathetic attention with regard to his character building, regularity of habits and even dietetics.

(4) That spiritual training is so planned as would make the growing youth become essentially human in his general outlook of life.

(5) That practical training in all types of social services is given to the youth so that he does not despise even the plausibly meanest social service.

That in other words, the dignity of labour finds its due place in his heart.

(6) That the whole training is based on basic educational lines and due place is given to local vocations.

(7) That *for adult and mass education*, apart from night schooling and wireless propaganda, nothing could serve better than the raising of the standard of the film industry under strict governmental supervision. The best method of appeal to the mass-mind is through his daily entertainments.

(8) That *for the man behind the bars*, the Jail should be made for him a place for re-education and psychological treatment, than a centre of State retribution.

But apart from education there are other cultural activities which require government attention. Out of them, the need of the hour seems to be most for the amplification of the ideal of Secularism adopted by our new born State. Many have stretched it only to the wrong side. Linguistically "secular" means "worldly" or "belonging to this world." It is quite the contrary to what is known as "theocratic." For a country like India with various sects and cultures it was but wise to have a secular State. But the people should be made to understand, and so also should be the attitude of the government, that secularism is not anti-religiousness but tolerance with a basic religious attitude. For this Government may take up cultural programmes, through its

ministry of education, which might impress upon the people how all religions are basically one—only different in their method of approach to the one human truth of being really human. Research institutes for a deep study into the scriptures of various Indian religions is also necessary to dig out of them what lights we can get on our historical, scientific, philosophic, social and moral background. We will thereby enrich our own culture and will also be better guided in introducing reforms, where we feel any corner of our society has stagnated for want of fresh life blood in it.

So far as foreign policy is concerned, with Pakistan firstly, we must adopt a policy of 'give and take' without either indulging in unnecessary sentimentalism or even in a fanatic communalism. With regard to the Kashmir issue, we have to set a firm foot on it, and try to take the issue entirely out of the U.N.O. muddle—where power politics seems to have clouded all sane judgment at the moment. With respect to the rest of international politics, we must first of all declare our faith in any international organisation, like the U.N.O.—in spite of whatever drawbacks there may be—realising that any such organisation is essentially a step towards a future world State. We must in the second place advocate, that the formation of U.N.O. on the lines of governmental representation has to give place to non-governmental countrywise representation in the near future, if power politics has

**Foreign
Affairs.**

to be permitted to have lesser chances of prejudicing the activities of the organisation. The entire U.N.O. personnel should be, in short, a representative body of different peoples, rather than of different governments. Thirdly, so far as the clash between Communism and western democracies is concerned, our government may maintain an attitude of strict neutrality, as far as possible, with respect to the imperialistic designs of any of the two above. Lastly, India may well consider the point and take a bold step forward towards a novel proposal for the formation of an Asiatic League of Nations in which the whole of South-East Asia may be brought together with open doors for more Asiatic nations to come in, if they agree with certain basic ideals which may be set for the purpose. Two ideals may be mentioned here in this respect which might appeal to any body's mind. Firstly, war has to be ruled out as a method of settling international disputes. Secondly, some sort of mutual aid system has to be evolved and agreed upon with regard to the basic needs of the member-countries in matters like food, defence and development programmes. With these two basic ideals much progress could be expected further in this direction.

Turning to the next point, suffice it to be said, with regard to defence-policies, that there could be no two opinions about the advisability of making the three units of our armed forces—army, navy and

airforce—so well equipped as to be strong enough to cope with any emergency of even a large scale aggression. But along with it the government should do

Defence and Demobilisation. good not to forget to take more kindly and tactful an attitude with respect to their army retrenchment programmes so as to guard against the dissatisfaction of the demobilised. Government is morally bound to provide such people with some other means of subsistence. Inability to do so can lead into grave situations. Hence in this respect they have to consider well whether under such an economy programme they are not steeping themselves into more worry and fresh commitments. Demobilisation should not be very unscrupulously carried through, even if economically necessary. Whatever the reasons for such a demobilisation may be, a lay man is still hard at making out why, if fresh recruitment is going to be a necessity some day, those already in the services with some army experience are being sacked out in favour of raw-recruits.

Coming to our sundry governmental policies lastly : two things come up to our mind at once. One is the problem of the displaced and the other the craze of our governments after too much of law-making.

With regard to the displaced, practical politics demands that our government has again to be firm and adopt a policy of *vice versa* with Pakistan so far

as properties or exchange of population directly or indirectly is concerned. Then again with respect to their rehabilitation, those who are still not well settled in professions of life anywhere may be equi-distributed provincewise, to relieve the population pressure of such provinces which are already over-populated. In addition, the displaced may also be encouraged to take to agriculture and populate such vast tracts of cultivable areas in the country, as are lying vacant only due to want of manpower. Exclusive villages and townships should be developed for these people. Exclusive because, sometimes the local population ill adjusts with them and begins unfortunately to nurture jealousies and hatred against them.

Other Governmental Policies—the displaced

Last of all, too much law-making seems to be a bad habit which our government luxuriously indulging into. They seem to forget the fact that society is dynamic and to bind it down from all sides with all sorts of laws is only suffocating it into artificial barriers which may mar its spontaneous growth. It would be like the old fashion in China of putting permanent metal boots on ladies feet to keep them beautiful and small. Today one has so many laws to face that one does not know where might he be branded a criminal all unawares. In actual fact even the most righteous feel they cannot exist without transgressing a certain part of law somewhere even to make their both ends meet. Law should only come into picture

Too much Law-Making

where spontaneous adjustment fails in the society. Otherwise too much of law-making makes society lose its virtues of adjustment. It also makes of it a sticky complainer for every minor matter, like the child who would harrass the life out of his parents by constant complaints or grumblings against his surroundings. The present day all round strikes are but an exposition of that mentality. This psychological issue is further made clear in the following words of Henry C. Link. "By substituting social paternalism for personal responsibility, governmental subsidies for private initiative, the principle of redistributing wealth for that of creating wealth, the personalities of multitudes have been undermined. Increasingly this mistaken concept creates individuals who are dependent upon society rather than on themselves. The inevitable result is spineless characters, and puny personalities." Hence many of the social reforms could be better brought about by propaganda and education than by law. By putting law on every step people not only lose their spontaneous individuality but also grow a distate for law in place of respect, which results in fearlessness towards it.

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Hence to draw upon a general conclusion finally, all that we need today in common with the rest of the world is rejuvenation of an essentially human

outlook towards all the problems of life ; and in our own country's particular background **Conclusion.** what we need is rule of law, a stable and self-sufficient economy, a conscious vote as dearly as adult franchise and a practical governmental policy as against sheer idealism.

For the former there are two ways—right type of education and a self-sufficient economy (based on the idea of self-help and beginning from the villages). One would teach us right thought, another right behaviour. It may not be forgotten that unless and until a strong spiritual basis is laid in the hearts of men both of the above will only remain an unaccomplished ideal.

For the latter, we have to radically re-examine and reshuffle our policies and systems of governance, our centralised economic structure of western brand and our election system. If we can put our heart and soul to all this we can expect much happier days in the near future.

True democracy is assured not in form but in the effective day to day life of the society.



APPENDIX I

MANY a word and phrase in our human phraseology have often misled us. So much so that civilisations have been made and unmade merely on their particular interpretations. Wars have been fought and peace restored just on the play of words. A faulty interpretation can thus always lead, and has led, to grave misunderstandings and utter confusion of thought and action. I have therefore selected a few such words and phrases which I might have freely used during the course of my discussions in this book, to give out my reader what I understand by them, without of course, ruling out the latter's right to correct me.

Personality of Man—is threefold, physical, mental and spiritual. Other animals might be having the same. But apparently these three aspects have been developed consciously by man alone in his struggle for existence through centuries and hence they are pronounced in him. Sciences of economics, politics and social ethics are the direct evolutes of these aspects. When there is a balance amongst these three man is at peace with himself and his surroundings, otherwise in trouble.

Dharma or Religion—is the inner force which makes man realise his threefold personality, and with it to realise the unity in diversity present in Nature. And with those realisations to proceed further at striking a note of perfect harmony with himself and his surroundings, or in other words with his inner and outer Nature. It is in other words the art of "live and let live."

Humanity—is in the realisation and practice of the principle of "live and let live." It is as we may term it "the milk of human kindness."

Service—is that spontaneous flow of human activity which leads the human being to organise himself with yet greater an organisation. It is an activity which itself does not run after name and fame, but name and fame run after it.

Labour—is that which has its roots in love and duty and not in its valuation in terms of money.

Education—is that which helps develop the threefold personality of man fully.

Politics—in contrast to religion, is the outer force to help us practice the principle of "live an let live" as far as possible and police against the brute in us. It is not surely what we know as "power-politics" today.

Charity—is that which contributes selflessly towards the eternal harmony.

Democracy—like education, is that politics which creates all opportunities and accords all equality and liberty for the man to develop his threefold personality fully. It is not surely that which gives us a hallucination of adult franchise with a hydra-headed autocracy of cabinets and parliaments overhead.

Equality—is in the virtue of duties towards each other and not in the vice of levelling down the other jealously.

Liberty—is in the freedom to "live and let live."

Faith—is the belief in the essential Presence of Virtue behind Ugliness and Beauty alike.

Virtue—is that cohesive force which creates unity in diversity. It is the eternal Love. It is the Truth.

God—is Love Himself. It is the Supreme Organisation in the womb of Nature. And it is the basis of Nature itself. It is the very life-force in all the living beings. It is the very Pulsating Principle of the entire Universe. To believe in God is to believe in life, in virtue, in love itself.

Life—is harmony, a balance, with Nature.

Progress—is that which teaches us to be Human and not that which leads us to brute force.

Science—is the art of life. Anything that is to destroy life is a distortion of science.

APPENDIX II

SECTION 40 of the Indian Constitution :—

Organisation of Village Panchayats.	The State shall take steps to organise village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government.
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APPENDIX III

SEVENTH SCHEDULE OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

LIST II—STATE LIST

1. Public order (but not including the use of naval, military or air forces or any other armed forces of the Union in aid of the civil power).

2. Police, including railway and village police.

3. Administration of justice; constitution and organisation of all courts, except the Supreme Court and the High Court; officers and servants of the High Court; procedure in rent and revenue courts; fees taken in all courts except the Supreme Court.

4. Prisons, reformatories, Borstal institutions and other institutions of a like nature, and persons detained therein; arrangements with other States for the use of prisons and other institutions.

5. Local government, that is to say, the constitution and powers of municipal corporations, improvement trusts, district boards, mining settlement authorities and other local authorities for the purpose of local self-government of village administration.

6. Public health and sanitation; hospitals and dispensaries.

7. Pilgrimages, other than pilgrimages to places outside India.

8. Intoxicating liquors, that is to say, the production, manufacture, possession, transport, purchase and sale of intoxicating liquors.

9. Relief of the disabled and unemployable.

10. Burials and burial grounds; cremations and cremation grounds.

11. Education including universities, subject to the provisions of Entries 63, 64, 65 and 66 of List I and Entry 25 of List III.

12. Libraries, museums and other similar institutions controlled or financed by the State; ancient and historical monuments and records other than those declared by Parliament by Law to be of national importance.

13. Communications, that is to say, roads, bridges, ferries, and other means of communications not specified in List I; municipal tramways; roadways; inland waterways and traffic thereon subject to the provisions of List I and List III with regard to such waterways; vehicles other than mechanically propelled vehicles.

14. Agriculture, including agricultural education and research, protection against pests and prevention of plant diseases.

15. Preservation, protection and improvement of stock and prevention of animal diseases; veterinary training and practice.

16. Pounds and the prevention of cattle trespass.

17. Water, that is to say, water supplies, irrigation and canals, drainage and embankments, water storage and water power subject to the provisions of Entry 56 of List I.

18. Land, that is to say, rights in or over land, land tenures including the relation of landlord and tenant, and the collection of rents; transfer and alienation of agricultural land; land improvement and agricultural loans; colonisation.

19. Forests.

20. Protection of wild animals and birds.

21. Fisheries.

22. Court of wards subject to the provisions of Entry 34 of List I; encumbered and attached estates.

23. Regulation of mines and mineral development subject to the provisions of List I with respect to regulation and development under the control of the Union.

24. Industries subject to the provisions of Entry 52 of List I.

25. Gas and gas-works.

26. Trade and commerce within the State subject to the provisions of Entry 33 of List III.

27. Production, supply and distribution of goods subject to the provisions of Entry 33 of List III.

28. Markets and fairs.

29. Weights and measures except establishment of standards.

30. Money-lending and money-lenders; relief of agricultural indebtedness.

31. Inns and inn-keepers.

32. Incorporation, regulation and winding-up of corporations, other than those specified in List I, and universities ; nnincorporated trading, literary, scientific, religions and other societies and associations ; co-operative societies.

33. Theatres and dramatic performances ; cinemas snbject to the provisions of Entry 60 of List I ; sports, entertainments and amusements.

34. Betting and gambling.

35. Works, lands and buildings vested in or in the possession of the State.

36. Acquisition or requisitioning of property, except for the purposes of the Union, subject to the provisions of Entry 42 of List III.

37. Elections to the Legislature of the State subject to the provisions of any law made by parliament.

38. Salaries and allowances of members of the Legislature of the State, of the Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the Legislative Assembly and, if there is a Legislative Council, of the Chairman and Deputy Chairman thereof.

39. Powers, privileges and immunities of the Legislative Assembly and of the members and the committees thereof, and, if there is a Legislative Council, of that Council and of the members and the committees thereof ; enforcement of attendance of persons for giving evidence or producing documents before committees of the Legislature of the State.

40. Salaries and allowances of Ministers for the State.

41. State public services ; State Public Service Commission.

42. State pensions, that is to say, pensions payable by the State or out of the consolidated Fund of the State.

43. Public debt of the State.

44. Treasure trove.

45. Land revenue, including the assessment and collection of revenue the maintenance of land records, survey for revenne purposes and records of rights, and alienation of revenues.

46. Taxes on agricultural income.

47. Duties in respect of succession to agricultural land.

48. Estate duty in respect of agricultural land.

49. Taxes on lands and buildings.

50. Taxes on mineral rights subject to any limitations imposed by parliament by law relating to mineral development.

51. Duties of excise on the following goods manufactured or produced in the State and countervailing duties at the same or lower rates on similar goods manufactured or produced elsewhere in India :—

(a) alcoholic liquors for human consumption ;

(b) opium, Indian hemp and other narcotic drugs and narcotics ;

but not including medicinal and toilet preparations containing alcohol or any substance included in sub-paragraph (b) of this entry.

52. Taxes on the entry of goods into a local area for consumption use or sale therein.

53. Taxes on the consumption or sale of electricity.

54. Taxes on the sale or purchase of goods other than newspapers.

55. Taxes on advertisements other than advertisements published in the newspapers.

56. Taxes on goods and passengers carried by road on inland waterways.

57. Taxes on vehicles, whether mechanically propelled or not, suitable for use on roads, including tramcars subject to the provisions of Entry 35 of List III.

58. Taxes on animals and boats.

59. Tolls.

60. Taxes on professions, trades, callings and employments.

61. Capitation taxes.

62. Taxes on luxuries, including taxes on entertainments, amusements betting and gambling.

63. Rates of stamp duty in respect of documents other than those specified in the provisions of List I with regard to rates of stamp duty.

64. Offences against laws with respect to any of the matters in this list.

65. Jurisdiction and powers of all courts, except the Supreme Court with respect to any of the matters in this List.

66. Fees in respect of any of the matters in this List, but not including fees taken in any court.

LIST III—CONCURRENT LIST

1. Criminal law, including all matters included in the Indian Penal Code at the commencement of this Constitution but excluding offences against laws with respect to any of the matters specified in List I or List II and excluding the use of naval, military or air forces or any other armed forces of the Union in aid of the civil power.

2. Criminal procedure, including all matters included in the Code of Criminal Procedure at the commencement of this Constitution.

3. Preventive detention for reasons connected with the security of a State, the maintenance of public order, or the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the community; persons subject to such detention.

4. Removal from one State to another State of prisoners, accused persons and persons subjected to preventive detention for reasons specified in Entry 3 of this List.

5. Marriage and divorce; infants and minors; adoption; wills; intestacy and succession; joint family and partition; all matters in respect of which parties in judicial proceedings were immediately before the commencement of this Constitution subject to their personal law.

6. Transfer of property other than agricultural land; registration of deeds and documents.

7. Contracts, including partnership, agency, contracts of carriage and other special forms of contracts, but not including contracts relating to agricultural land.

8. Actionable wrongs.

9. Bankruptcy and insolvency.

10. Trust and trustees.

11. Administrators-general and official trustees.

12. Evidence and oaths; recognition of law; public acts and records, and judicial proceedings.

13. Civil procedure; including all matters included in the Code of Civil Procedure at the commencement of this Constitution, limitation and arbitration.

14. Contempt of court, but not including contempt of the Supreme Court.

15. Vagrancy; nomadic and migratory tribes.

16. Linnacy and mental deficiency, including places for the reception or treatment of lunatics and mental deficients.

17. Prevention of cruelty to animals.

18. Adulteration of foodstuffs and other goods.

19. Drugs and poisons, subject to the provisions of Entry 59 of List I with respect to opium.

20. Economic and social planning.

21. Commercial and industrial monopolies, combines and trusts.

22. Trade Unions; industrial and labour disputes.

23. Social security and social insurance; employment and unemployment.

24. Welfare of labour including conditions of work, provident funds, employers' liability, workmen's compensation, invalidity and old age pensions and maternity benefits.

25. Vocational and technical professions.

26. Legal, medical and other professions.

27. Relief and rehabilitation of persons displaced from their original place of residence by reason of the setting up of the Dominions of India and Pakistan.

28. Charities and charitable institutions, charitable and religious endowments and religious institutions.

29. Prevention of the extension from one State to another of infections or contagious diseases or pests affecting men, animals or plants.

30. Vital statistics including registration of births and deaths.

31. Ports other than those declared by or under law made by Parliament or existing law to be major ports.

32. Shipping and navigation on inland waterways as regards mechanically propelled vessels, and the rule of the road on such waterways, and the carriage of passengers and goods on inland waterways subject to the provisions of List I with respect to national waterways.

33. Trade and commerce in, and the production, supply and distribution of, products of industries where the control of such industries by the Union is declared by Parliament by law to be expedient in the public interest.

34. Price control.

35. Mechanically propelled vehicles including the principles on which taxes on such vehicles are to be levied.

36. Factories.

37. Boilers.

38. Electricity.

39. Newspapers, books and printing presses.

40. Archæological sites and remains other than those declared by Parliament by law to be of national importance.

41. Custody, management and disposal of property (including agricultural land) declared by law to be evacuee property.

42. Principles on which compensation for property acquired or requisitioned for the purposes of the Unions of a State or for any other public purpose is to be determined, and the form and the manner in which such compensation is to be given.

43. Recovery in a State of claims in respect of taxes and other public demands, including arrears of land-revenue and sums recoverable as such arrears, arising outside that State.

44. Stamp duties other than duties or fees collected by means of judicial stamps, but not including rates of stamp duty.

45. Inquiries and statistics for the purposes of any of the matters specified in List II or List III.

46. Jurisdiction and powers of all courts, except the Supreme Court, with respect to any of the matters in this List.

47. Fees in respect of any of the matters in this List, but not including fees taken in any court.

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